THE ENGLISH REVIEW

INDEX TO VOLUME LVI

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1933

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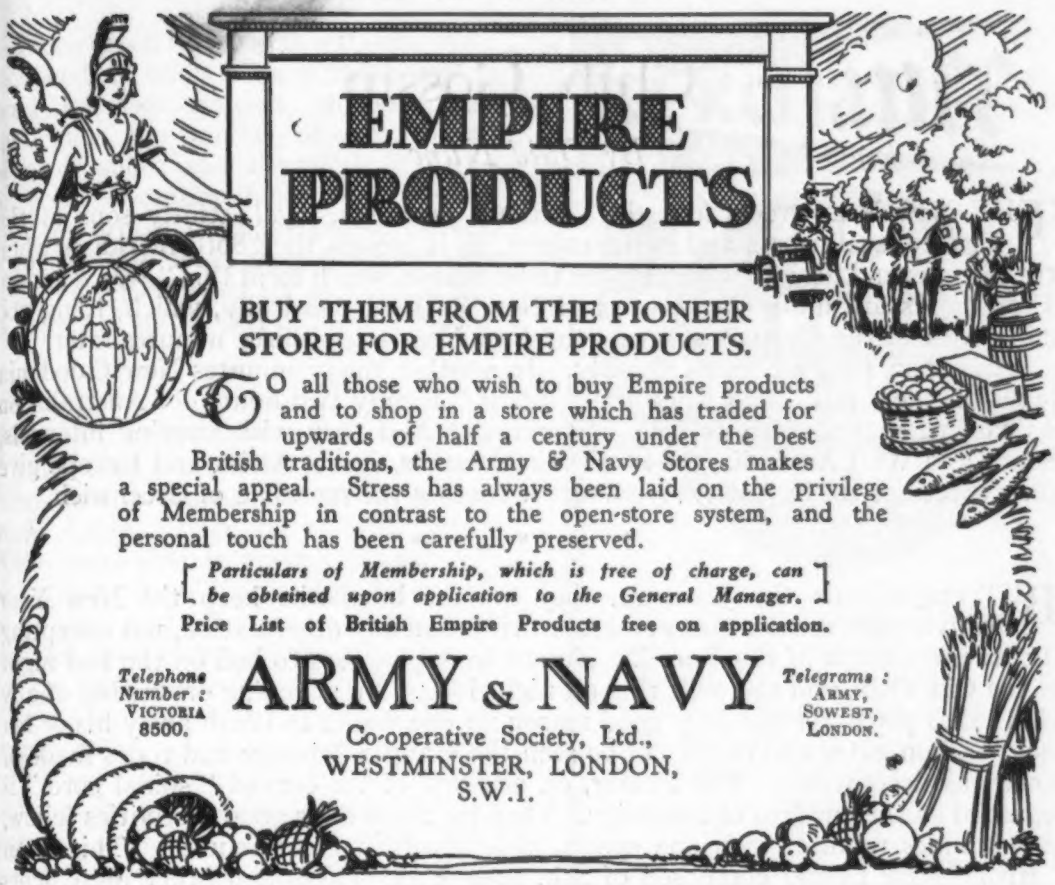

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Club Gossip

By Quid Nunc

THE New Year greets first the Chatham Islanders, loyal, sturdy sons of the Empire, seal-fishers and cattle-raisers, as it crosses the 180th meridian when 1933 begins and near to which lie the three islands which form this " wee " group. The Islands are under the control of New Zealand politically, which, lying 360 miles west of the Chathams, greets the New Year some thirty minutes later.

And then 1933 advances steadily. In another thirty minutes New Caledonia takes on the " gift," and when the " infant " is only two hours old Australia on its eastern shores rings its bells of greeting. And then with varying intervals, South and West Australia, the Straits Settlements, India, Africa and Europe give their greetings till in just twelve hours it reaches the meridian of Greenwich.

* * *

BUT our friends the Japanese, they are the boys who keep the New Year Festival with greater gusto and more vim than any other nation, not excepting the dwellers north of the Tweed. No one in Japan goes to bed on the last night of the Old Year, and the bells ring all night long. No sweeping or dusting of any kind takes place, for the very good reason no one wants to brush away his or her luck, and on gates and doors can be seen the oranges, lobsters and ropes made of straw, as decorations. The lobster, on account of its curved " spinal cord," is regarded as the emblem of longevity. Then for three days great festivities follow, and families reunite, with one special dish, Zoni, in great request. This is an " Irish " stew hybrid composed of fish, greens, rice cakes and other ingredients and may be compared to our Christmas pudding course. Japan, in short, makes such a general holiday of the New Year that her people keep up the festivities till the sixteenth of the month, when normal conditions begin again.

* * *

I AM wondering how the Polar Scientific expedition at Fort Rae will be getting on this New Year, for as I recall that wild and lonely area of the North-West Territories, it is one of the coldest in Canada, not excepting even the North Shore of Lake Superior nor the Arctic Ocean coast. Especially is this true on that long arm of Great Slave Lake that reaches out to the North on the eastern bank of which arm the Fort lies. It was not far from the eastern side of this long arm of Great Slave Lake where some of the most destructive forest fires that have ever taken place in the Canadian North-West occurred, and although three of the greatest of the forest fires took place nearly 50 years ago, the area is still known as the Grand Brulé, and there are still wide prairies to mark the scenes between the intervening timber belts.

* * *

IT is in this region and to this place Great Britain sent out a former scientific expedition, 50 years ago, to study the problems connected with Arctic meteorology and the terrestrial magnetism of the polar regions and, needless to add, since then mighty strides have been made in the scientific knowledge connected with these subjects. When I was there I was much interested in the canoe birch which grew around, for this tree was then—and, no doubt, still is—of great economic importance to the natives of the region.

When green its wood is soft, but when seasoned, it takes a high polish and is used for the runners of sleds and toboggans, the handles of axes, frames of snow shoes and a variety of other purposes, notably household utensils and to furnish the covering of canoes. Probably one of its most practical uses is in the spring when the sap of the tree is collected and boiled down into syrup.

* * *

IT is only since the war, and not often since then, that British soldiers have been able to spend Christmas in the Holy Land. The 1st Royal Ulster Rifles were able to make the exchange of stations from Belfast for Jerusalem and the 2nd Seaforth Highlanders arrived there from India just in time for the festive season, and Jerusalem at Christmas time is an experience many would envy. I went there one year recently travelling on a most comfortable Orient boat which took but twelve days at its leisure to Port Said, with another 12 hours in the train from there to Jerusalem.

But this year I can visualize our soldiers—what a wonderful education the Army affords these days in the experience of travel alone—making their way through the now substantial town of Bethlehem with its solidly built houses and the steep and narrow streets which intersect it, there to hear and see stranger sights than any they have seen at their home churches, chapels and kirks.

* * *

THE British soldier is a really good fellow at heart, and I have no doubt these sons of Ireland and of Scotland have joined in many a carol. For there are so many pilgrims of all nationalities visiting Bethlehem at Christmas, that carols are sung in more different languages there than in any other place in the world.

* * *

(*Continued overleaf.*)

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Club Gossip—*continued.*

THE Messageries-Maritimes are another enterprising firm which at this season of the year cater for a wide and influential circle of American and European tourists, covering from Marseilles the Mediterranean, including Naples, Piræus, Athens, Constantinople, Smyrna, Rhodes, Cyprus, Beirut, Damascus, the Holy Land, Cairo, Aswan, Luxor, Abydos, and back again, a winter trip of great variety and pleasure.

* * *

I WAS reminded of two curious toasts which were drunk in a large tent at a dinner party held in the middle of the Tweed in early February, 1814, when that river was frozen completely over. Although the tent was admirably heated by stoves the ice happily remained firm and fifty guests fed sumptuously. One toast was to "General Frost who so signally fought last winter (1813) for the deliverance of Europe and now supports the present company," and the other was "Both sides of the Tweed and God preserve us in the middle."

* * *

IT would be a tragedy if public support of the International Horse Show at Olympia is so limited in 1933 that the directors will be compelled to end it. We pride ourselves on being the nation that above all pays homage and love to that most noble of animals, the horse, and yet in these days superficial pleasures seem to attract the most and our old national characteristics are in danger of changing and not for the better.

A great effort is being made to make the next show in June at Ascot time a great success, and I understand a number of new and thrilling features will be introduced. If we lost all our horses and only had donkeys many people would then lament loudly. It is up to those people who do not go to the Horse Show at Olympia to remedy the omission. I hope it will never be said of this country that the mania for speed and mechanical transport killed the love of the horse. After all, it is the horse in the streets to-day that gives the only real humanizing aspect to our cities, whatever some people might say and do to get rid of all horse traffic on the roads.

* * *

THE

ENGLISH REVIEW

27th Year of Publication

Edited by DOUGLAS JERROLD

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THE ENGLISH REVIEW

Current Comments

JANUARY, 1933

The New Diplomacy

THE results of Lausanne are now available for judgment. They are precisely what were anticipated and bear out exactly the criticisms of those agreements which were voiced at the time in the House of Commons. Of the Government's defence of those agreements not a word stands to-day; Mr. Neville Chamberlain's pledge in his last budget speech that the House would be asked to vote any further provision necessary if the next American debt payment had to be made was also bluntly broken. The European tension has been directly increased and Anglo-American and Anglo-French relations are both changed for the worse. In the face of these facts, the *Times* assertion that the prestige of the Government is enhanced by their handling of the American debt question is the severest criticism of the present House of Commons which we have read. We do not believe it to be deserved. On the contrary we think that the House of Commons, faced with a situation created by policies on which it was never consulted, acted with great restraint and patriotism in putting the national interest—which, in the circumstances so created, necessitated payment to America—above their otherwise legitimate disgust at the mishandling of the whole question by the Government of the day.

The Past and the Future

THE back benchers, condemned to silence and inaction, emerged with credit from the War Debts debate, but Sir John Wardlaw-Milne voiced the opinion of the House and the country in condemning the tone and content of the speeches delivered from the two front

benches. Neither the country nor the House of Commons care two pins what was said or thought or pretended ten years ago. We are faced to-day, partly as the result of the failure of our debts and reparations policy, partly as the result of the errors of the last ten years, with the need for a change in monetary policy. No one can or should be content to let that policy be determined by the Bank of England behind the backs of the people and their representatives. There are, it is true, a number of back-bench members who feel that currency problems are too complex for their understanding, and are for this reason best left to experts: there are others who hold that, on balance, inexpert handling by experts is preferable to political direction however enlightened. The argument of this last group is, of course, that the political direction may in the next parliament be socialist, not national. To those who think this way, we make this appeal.

Is the House of Commons fit to Govern?

THE whole future of this country, economic, social and even political, is going to be determined by our currency policy in the next few years. Those who seriously feel that, for reasons of personal inadequacy or in order to be able to score a debating point over a possible future Government (for it will be nothing else: it will not deter a socialist government from socialist actions), they must stand aside from the discussion of currency policy, or support blindly whatever the Bank of England suggest, have a clear duty to perform. It is this. They must come forward at once as the champions of an alternative system of government which will allow the claims of the workers, of the manufacturers, of the farmers and of the unemployed, the right to effective consideration side by side with the claims of the bankers and the moneylenders. If the House of Commons is not to voice these claims, and not merely to voice them but to insist on their just recognition, then it has ceased

to play a useful part in our constitutional machinery. There is no escape from this dilemma, and those Members of Parliament who conscientiously feel unable to do anything but support the official policy, whatever it may be, have a solemn obligation to their fellow countrymen either to resign their seats or to come forward as champions of a drastic scheme of constitutional reform.

To pay or not to pay

WE were right to pay. On that point there can be no shadow of doubt. It was impossible, having asked for postponement and having been denied it, to proceed to repudiation. To do that would have been to have reduced our word to the value of the paper on which it was written. But that is not to say that we should have placed ourselves in the position where we were forced either to pay or to repudiate. We should never have signed the Lausanne agreements—nay, more, we should never have accepted the Hoover moratorium—without a clear and public understanding from the United States that they were willing to admit the interdependence of war debts and reparations *de facto* if not *de jure*. And to-day we should give formal notice not only to our allies but to Germany and the other ex-enemy states that failing an international settlement of war debts and reparations we shall continue to honour our bond and shall require other countries to honour theirs. If in such circumstances Germany refuses to be a party to such a policy, her claim to equality of status with France and Italy will automatically disappear. Quite obviously it would be unthinkable that Germany who at present bears 1 per cent. only of the whole cost of the War should be allowed to re-arm while the victorious powers stagger under the burden of 99 per cent. of that cost.

The Issue at Home

SO much for that aspect of the question. The issues of internal policy raised are less generally understood. This country is not suffering from the debt to America,

but from the burden of indebtedness as a whole. That burden has been nearly doubled since it was incurred by a vast increase in the value of money and will never become supportable without an increase in prices, which means a decrease in the value of money. If all debts and reparations were wiped out to-morrow, the world would be the better by the removal of three things—a threat to the stability of the exchanges, a threat to the maintenance of peace between nations, and a threat to the maintenance of internal order in France, Germany and Austria. But we, ourselves, would be unable to profit greatly by any revival in confidence which the removal of these threats would bring. Our trouble is due only secondarily to the fall in gold prices. Primarily it is due to the fall in sterling prices in relation to the fixed sterling obligations of the government towards its own nationals in respect of non-productive services. This particular difficulty can be removed in one of two ways only; by reflation or by a very drastic reduction in the sterling value of the government's obligations. The latter course, however, will send the price level still lower, and will secure its result, if ever, only by wholesale repudiations in the form of the writing down of capital, the scaling down of government salaries and the wages of the sheltered industries, the curtailment of social services, and a further measure of debt conversion, rendered possible by a further period of prolonged industrial stagnation. Is there any man, woman or child in the country who believes that such a policy, which has failed once already, can succeed to-day.

The Case for Re-flation

IN any case, let us be honest and face the facts. The Government's official policy is to raise gold prices, and if such a policy succeeded, a reduction in the face value of the Government's sterling obligations becomes impossible. A rise in world prices will enhance the cost of living in this country, will lead to a rise, not a fall,

in wages, and to a fall, not a rise, in the value of gilt edge securities. What does this mean? It means that even out of its own mouth, the Government's policy of a drastic further reduction in expenditure is condemned. And what does this mean in its turn? It means that the present burden of expenditure on industry can only be relieved by re-flation. It is, as Sir Basil Blackett has pointed out in his book, *Planned Money*,* extremely unlikely that any international effort to raise gold prices will succeed to any appreciable extent. But it is certain that it cannot succeed *in time* and *sufficiently* to raise gold prices to the point when a rise in sterling prices relative to gold would cease to be necessary as a means of reducing the present burden on productive industry. And there is a further point. The crying need of industry is for stability in the internal price level. This means that industry cannot revive effectively until an equilibrium of prices and costs has been reached. Such an equilibrium can never be reached quickly by a deflationary policy or by international action, and we cannot afford to wait.

The Ethics of Re-flation

THERE are those who, agreeing with the argument we have set out, disagree with the conclusion on ethical grounds. " Monkeying about with the currency " is, they say, dishonourable. If you want to repudiate, do it openly. The answer to this point of view is that we do not want to repudiate, and that what we want to do is not to monkey about with, but, if we may coin a new word, to *de-monkey* the currency. To do this we must negative by government action the results of the Government policy of the last few years which have placed industry in pawn to the banks, and the taxpayers' assets in pawn to the *rentiers*. The object of our policy should be a stable internal price level, and only by attaining this object shall we be able once and for all to prevent vested interests " monkeying about " with the currency, and so with the lives and fortunes of our people.

* Macmillan, 5s. net.

Back to Coal

THERE are signs that the Back to Coal movement will succeed in attracting the attention of the politicians, despite their studied appearance of indifference. Back to Coal does not mean the creation of a new subsidized industry for home-made oil, but a return under free conditions to the use of coal in whatever form is found best without subsidy. At a recent dinner to Captain Acworth, the founder of the movement, it was made abundantly clear that there is no military objection to a very substantial return to coal in the navy. What was even more important, it was made clear that in producer gas we have a national alternative to petrol as the motive power of road transport. Not the least of the evils of the subsidization of the oil interests has been that scientific discoveries have been side-tracked and that modern methods for the better utilization of coal have not had sufficient publicity. The public have got to be educated. Is it too much to hope that Members of Parliament will take the lead in the educational campaign instead of following their usual policy of keeping their mouths shut till they see public opinion behind them?

Agriculture

THE same economic and moral considerations which apply to coal apply to agriculture. Here public opinion is already aroused. What is wanted is a free vote in the House of Commons on a series of constructive resolutions. Letters to the *Times* are of no use to-day. The public is ready for a forward policy along the lines already developed by Lord Lymington and others. By comparison with this issue—which forms the very foundation of Conservative social reform—the socialization of London Traffic is surely unimportant to the Conservative majority in the House of Commons. But it would appear not to be so. Unfortunately the gravity of the international situation—though the Government themselves are largely responsible for its gravity—has saved the Government

from a serious revolt in the House of Commons. It is not desirable at the present moment to have a change of government. It is all the more necessary that the Conservative Party should develop some organization independent of, though quite properly supporting, the Government, which will formulate and popularize a constructive programme of social, economic, financial and constitutional reform.

The Need for a "Fourth Party"

IN this way, and only in this way, can it be made known to the country that a constructive Tory policy exists, and that leaders exist who are determined to see that a progressive policy is put into operation the moment circumstances allow of it. As things stand, the sins of omission of the National Government are being laid at the door of the Conservative Party. The country believes that party to be without a domestic policy. It believes it also to be responsible for the fiasco of our foreign policy. The result at the next election may be striking and decisive unless resolute action is taken. Many sound and constructive proposals are made in every debate by Conservative private members, but the force of Lord Melbourne's famous remark is forgotten. The public is impressed to unanimity: it is quite unimpressed by a variety of well-informed comment which lacks even the appearance of coherence. As no one knows better than Mr. Winston Churchill, a party, even if having only four members, can be a decisive influence; a number of individuals, however brilliant, have very much less. If the country is to be saved from a socialist government in four years' time, a new "Fourth Party" must be formed which will keep before the House of Commons and before the country a coherent policy of constructive reform. It need not be a party in opposition. Indeed, it should not be. But it must be an objective reality to which men can turn when the time comes, and which can be trusted not to split into fragments at the first offer of office unless the offer of office be accompanied by an offer of power to

carry out after the next election the constructive programme which the nation needs.

The Redistribution of Property

WE publish this month the first of a series of articles by Mr. Hilaire Belloc on the redistribution of property. It is an axiom of Conservatism that the only guarantee of social order is a wide distribution of private ownership. It is another axiom that the concentration of the means of production in a few hands with its corollary of the economic dependence of the many on the few is a violation of social justice. The peculiar modern problem is to combine production on a scale sufficient to enable the modern standard of life to be maintained with such diffusion of property as shall conform to the requirements of free men. The first essential to the solution of any problem is its definition. For this reason we hope that Mr. Belloc's articles will be not only widely but deeply considered.

Whither England

MR. HUGH SELLON'S "Whither England"* is one of the most lucid and compelling statements of the Conservative philosophy which we have read for a long time, and we note with particular interest the plea for a wider distribution of property as the only means of providing economic security for the general public. We do not by any means share Mr. Sellon's enthusiasm for profit sharing or co-partnership: still less his enthusiasm for oil. But these are points of detail, far outweighed by the merits of a very striking book. Of particular interest, in view of the admitted decline in the prestige of the House of Commons, are Mr. Sellon's excellent proposals for the choice of candidates and the financing of election expenses (pp. 197–201). We also agree with Mr. Sellon that there is no chance of these proposals being adopted.

DOUGLAS JERROLD.

* Peter Davies. 7s. 6d. net.

Church and State: Quis Separabit?

By Sir Arnold Wilson

THIS article is not written from the standpoint of a Protestant, with suggestions for "a short and easy way" of "putting down Ritualism," nor from that of an Anglo-Catholic, desiring to emphasize one aspect of truth at the expense, perhaps, of other and not less vital aspects.

The writer is neither a Roman Catholic nor a supporter of the fifty-one clergy who last month declared that: "The existence of the Church of England, as a body separate *de facto* from the rest of the Catholic Church, is only tolerable as a temporary evil and that reunion with Rome is the logical and highest goal of the Oxford Movement." Still less does he approve the "Catholic Crusade"—led to-day by five clergy who are openly preaching Communism and flouting their bishops, but are, like the other fifty, content to draw their salaries, exiguous though they be, whilst disregarding their ordination oaths.

These groups are not unimportant, for the history of success is the history of minorities. Their existence is not a consequence of establishment, nor can any useful criticism thereof be based on their doings. "Turbulent priests" have always been with us, and every large professional body—doctors, barristers, solicitors, and the like—includes a small body of recusants.

The writer is, in the words of Bishop Creighton, "an Englishman first and a Churchman afterwards"—an obscure member of the laity—not wholly ignorant of history, but unversed in dogma. Recent events, and the opinions thereon expressed by men whose opinion is, in general, entitled to great respect, do not in his submission justify any important change in the relation between Church and State. He believes on the contrary that the

value of such a relationship, great as it has been in the past, may well be greater by far in the future.

Nineteen years ago, on July 4, 1913, the Representative Church Council (a forerunner of the Church Assembly) resolved that "there is in principle no inconsistency between a national recognition of religion and the spiritual independence of the Church." Disraeli, in June, 1863, expressed the same idea in these words:—

> "For the last two hundred years no statesman has contemplated that the whole population of England should be within the pale of the National Church. What has been contemplated in these centuries of what I may call the practical working of our Constitution has been this, that . . . the religious principle should be recognized as one of the most important and influential in the conduct of the Government; . . . and that we should seek to influence the conduct of men by the highest sanction that can be conceived. That object has been successfully accomplished by the Church in its connection with the State in England during the last two centuries." The connection between Church and State, he concluded, was "in unison with the soundest principles of political philosophy."

There is to-day, seventy years since those words were uttered, a small party which is pressing for the disestablishment of the Church of England. Its members are not, as formerly, drawn from the great Nonconformist organizations, nor from the serried ranks of Roman Catholicism, nor from the House of Commons. The advocates of disestablishment are a section of the Church of England itself, consisting largely of clerical adherents of a group known as Anglo-Catholic, though disestablishment as such is not an integral part of Anglo-Catholicism and was never contemplated by its original leaders. Their accepted leader is the Bishop of Durham, who bears no party label.

Disestablishment in England has never yet been a political issue of importance. The leaders of Nonconformist and Roman Catholic opinion have realized that the cause of religion was unlikely to be advanced thereby. In recent years the comfortless creed of the Secularist

has lost adherents, but the militant atheism of Communism is with us—and is a real danger—because indifference to all but materialistic conceptions and values is widespread, especially among the governing classes.

The discussions of the past twenty years on the subject of the relation between "Church and State" have been conducted almost wholly within the Church of England itself. They are the outcome of tendencies which were visible nearly a century ago, and were active before the war. They gained impetus from the experiences of clergy who acted as chaplains to the Forces. There was a "Life and Liberty" movement, sponsored by eminent ecclesiastics, who sought to cast off the bonds of tradition, but were unable clearly to visualize the consequences. It failed for the most part to appeal to the devout laity, who remained attached rather to the person and example of Christ, than to theories of ecclesiastical organization or to particular interpretations of forms of worship. There was a "National Mission" which was intended to supplement, but sometimes hampered, normal parochial activities. There were other disturbing elements and, however noble their objects, they all tended to grow at the expense of and to overshadow the indispensable work of the parochial clergy, who were too often ignored.

Then came the Enabling Act of 1919, which conferred powers on the Church Assembly, an already existing body whose constitution was determined by the Church, not by the State, which merely recognized it and conferred on it certain powers. The passing of this Act was, in the opinion of many, an ill-advised step, but it is not possible here to discuss alternative possibilities. The Act was generally believed to have given the Church of England as much liberty as it needed, and in the debates on the subject little was heard of the merits or demerits of "establishment."

Then, in 1928, the whole question was raised afresh, again from within the Church of England, primarily

because the House of Commons for the second time rejected the Prayer Book Measure of 1928 by 266 votes to 230. (It had been passed by the Church Assembly by 396 votes to 153, over 100 voters apparently abstaining.) The debates in both Houses of Parliament were on a high plane and did something to restore the prestige of Parliament as a body capable of rising to a high level of thought and speech on matters not normally within its purview. That Parliament in thus rejecting the Prayer Book Measure did more than it was entitled to do is unquestionable, because the Primate, from his seat in the House of Lords, said in the course of the debate on the Enabling Act :—

" Parliamentary power, without the intervention at all of this Bill, remains exactly what it was. . . . Parliament retains its rights, not only in theory, but in fact, . . . in no sense whatever do we desire to get things through Parliament in some private or unrecognized manner, or that they should slip through because there is no time to oppose them."

It is not possible here to discuss the wisdom of the decision taken by Parliament in dealing with the Prayer Book Measure,* nor the propriety of the action of the majority of the bench of Bishops in announcing that the draft Prayer Book of 1928, notwithstanding its rejection, might be used where desired normally by the Parochial Church Council, but in practice by individual clergy. The position of the Bishops was very difficult. They hoped that their action, admittedly illegal, would make it easier for them to obtain some measure of order than at one time seemed practicable, especially in the crucial matter of Reservation. They acted not *in contumaciam*, but reluctantly. The great majority of parishes, however,

* Some fifty other Measures passed by the Church Assembly in the past twelve years have been sanctioned by Parliament, which cannot amend, but only pass or reject them; apart from the Prayer Book only two Measures have been rejected, in each case by the House of Lords, and they are not seriously regretted by any but a very small minority.

outside the largest towns, have retained the form and spirit of the Prayer Book of 1661, with minor modifications necessary to meet modern conditions. The attachment thereto of the laity is unmistakable, and its substantial identity with the Prayer Book of the Irish, Welsh, Dominions, American, and Indian Churches in communion with the Church of England is of real sentimental and practical importance.

Now any discussion of the relations between Church and State necessarily turns in some measure upon the composition in recent years of the House of Commons. It included in 1661, and still includes, not a few dissenters, and some unbelievers. Its members comprise, and represent, persons who are Church-people, who are Christians (but not Church-people), and who are non-Christian.* Parliament in this country, however, always has been, and is, regarded not as wholly, but as predominantly Christian, and in any case as representative, in both Houses, of the great mass of people who, whether Church-people or not, are Christian. For them, until 1919, Parliament was the only legislative machine in matters of religion. Every Prayer Book since 1549 was legalized by Parliament, rather than by the Church. Only the last Prayer Book was approved by Convocation. The Acts of Parliament relating to ecclesiastical affairs number many hundreds; those still in force would fill several large volumes, and no attempt has been made by the present Church Assembly to consolidate them. Legislation by reference is as prevalent in this as in other branches of law.

The Church is less easily described than "Parliament." It is defined in the nineteenth of the Thirty-Nine Articles in the following terms: "The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in which the

* Mr. Saklatvala has assured us (and his statement has been confirmed from more than one source) that his vote against the 1928 Book was only cast after careful enquiry as to the trend of lay and clerical opinion in his constituency.

pure Word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly administered according to Christ's Ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same." Every child, when baptized, is received " into the family of Christ's Church " by vows made on its behalf, and renewed when the child is confirmed. He cannot, however, as an adult member of the Church of England, take any part in parochial or other administrative affairs until his name is on the electoral roll of his parish. The number so qualified is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions.

For our immediate purposes, however, the composition of the Church Assembly is of greater importance. How far is it in fact representative? The Bishops and clergy are fully represented. What of the laity? There is some reason to think that they are not in fact adequately represented. The system of election from parochial to ruridecanal and from ruridecanal to diocesan conferences excludes many persons who cannot hope to attend the meetings of these bodies in addition to the Assembly. In practice, the tendency is for the diocesan nominees to be clerically rather than lay-minded. There are no directly elected representatives, such as might be secured by an election in each diocese by the People's Church wardens. Yet if the Church is to be a National Church it is vital that the laity be adequately represented.

" We must erase from the mind of the country," said Disraeli in October 1862,

> " The idea that the Church of England is a clerical corporation The Church of England is a national corporation, of which the clerical element, however important, is only a small element. . . . I believe that if such a prudent development of the lay element in the management of the Church takes place, you will have a third great means of asserting the Nationality of the Church."

In this connection it is of interest to note that Lord Hugh Cecil (*The Church and the Realm*, 1932) holds that the laity of primitive times shared in synodical decisions by concurrence, or more importantly by indirect

influence. . . . "There is no ground either in scripture or in the customs of the Catholic Church in all ages, to shut out the laity from the function of criticism and advice to the Bishops and clergy." But Lord Hugh Cecil would exclude the laity from "discussion of the ministry of the word and sacraments" which belongs to the Bishops and, subordinately, to the clergy. He would permit no intrusion by the laity on the stewardship of the mysteries of the Gospel.

Here some of us will venture, with great respect, to differ from him.

When a nation as a whole accepts as its guide the teaching of our Lord, it may be permitted to have some share in the governance of the Church of Christ within its borders. Dogma is not the only, nor even the principal sphere of the Christian religion. The lay movement in England towards a reunion of Christians is strong; it does not, indeed, envisage the inclusion of the Church of Rome, but that is not a point on which it is here possible to dwell. Faith and order are the elements of Christianity, but the example of Christ is greater than either, and moves the hearts of men who are untouched by forms of worship and ignorant of doctrine. The laity are, for reasons in no way reflecting on the clergy, more likely to advance the cause of reunion, if given a responsible part in the councils of the Church, than the clergy alone.

There are good grounds for the belief that if the laity had been given a greater share in and responsibility for the draft Prayer Book of 1928 the House of Commons would have passed it. Rightly or wrongly, but, as the writer holds, rightly, it was felt to be a compromise between conflicting clerical views rather than the reflection of the mind of the Church as a whole.

Few will dissent from the declaration of Lord Davidson that, "the Church—that is the Bishops together with the clergy and the laity—must, in the last resort, when its mind has been fully ascertained, retain its inalienable

right . . . to formulate its faith . . . and to arrange the expression of that holy faith in its form of worship."

There are, however, many who will hold that the mind of " the Church," as defined by Lord Davidson, has not, in fact, been fully ascertained, and that to make this possible the constitution of the Church Assembly should be further modified.

Another aspect of the establishment to which exception is taken is the fact that the Bishops are nominated by the Crown and that the Crown has extensive Church patronage. It is hard to believe that this is a serious stumbling block. It is, indeed, in some respects an anomalous arrangement, but, as was observed by the historian J. R. Green, no method is so well calculated to provide the Church with " representative " Bishops, and Lord Sankey has recently testified to " the anxious care and thought which were given by those who were not members of the Church of England when they exercised their duties of filling appointments. They all put before themselves the same question as, in his view, Churchmen ought always to ask themselves, ' How can I help England? ' "

The election of Bishops by Bishops, or by cathedral chapters, or similar bodies, would almost inevitably tend to emphasize the aspect of the Church as a clerical corporation. The present system gives the laity just that element of participation in ecclesiastical affairs that is necessary for the good alike of the Church and the State; no other method seems likely to work equally well.

The late Primate stated in public that to speak of our Prime Ministers as though they exercised an unfettered discretion in the matter was a plain blunder with regard to fact.

The clerical supporters of disestablishment, headed by the lovable but wayward Bishop of Durham, hold that the Church as such would be strengthened thereby. They point to the disestablished churches in Wales and

in Ireland, and claim that their continued survival and active life shows that disestablishment in England would not do serious harm. To them it may be pointed out that the terms on which disestablishment in these regions was carried through were, partly at the expense of the Mother Church of England through the Ecclesiastical Commission, very liberal. In Ireland the Protestant Church was not that of the people; in Wales the existence of the Welsh language and other considerations made it possible to represent, or misrepresent, the established church in Wales as a kind of foreign invasion. The Church of England would have no such external support. Moreover, in questions of human opinion and belief, movement must be reckoned in terms of generations, rather than calendar years, and it is too soon to judge of results.

It has also been urged that the Church of England might well be placed in the same relation to the State as is occupied by the established Church of Scotland. The position of the two Churches is, however, in no way analogous. The established Church of Scotland is comparatively small in influence and in numbers, and the course of its history is wholly dissimilar. As Professor Trevelyan has observed :—

" In England the Church had kept the outline of its ancient organization, remaining purely clerical in its structure; it followed that the control of the laity over its liturgy and doctrine had to be exercised not from within, but from without, through Crown and through Parliament. In Scotland, on the other hand, the laity took an active part in Church organization and government. Only so could there be any control of religion by the laity because they had no real Parliament to speak for them."

The possibilities of further steps towards union between the comrade churches of Scotland and England are even now under discussion and, if realized, may pave the way for closer measures of co-operation with the great

Nonconformist Churches. Such a movement seemed, after the Lambeth Conference in 1920, likely to bear fruit, but the outcome of the conference of 1930 was discouraging to the supporters of reunion. There are many who feel that our ultimate goal should be further measures of reunion, culminating in the re-establishment of religion on a broader basis than at present, rather than the disestablishment of all religions, with the inevitable growth of sectarianism, on the one hand, and the barren, inhuman philosophy of secularism on the other.

But there is another aspect of the matter which is never mentioned. What would be the effect of disestablishment on the State? Would the State be strengthened? In Lord Sankey's words: "What is best for England?" That is a question which we must all ask ourselves.

"I am sometimes inclined," said Disraeli in October 1862,

> to believe that those who advocate the abolition of the union between Church and State have not carefully considered the consequence of such a course. The Church is a powerful corporation of many millions of His Majesty's subjects. . . . Restricted and controlled by the State, so powerful a corporation may be only fruitful of public advantage, but it becomes a great question what might be the consequence of the severance of the controlling tie between these two bodies. The State would be enfeebled, but the Church would probably be strengthened. . . . I doubt whether it would be favourable to the cause of civil and religious liberty.

Ten years later he said:—

> The wisest Sovereigns and Statesmen have ever been anxious to connect authority with religion. . . . In England we accomplish this great result by an alliance between Church and State, between two originally independent powers.

Another aspect of establishment which is sometimes criticized is the fact that certain Bishops sit in Parliament. With the exercise of this right we may couple the right of the Archbishop to crown the Sovereign, and the obligation of the Sovereign to belong to the Church.

Many would like to see the leaders of the Free Churches represented in a reformed House of Lords, for in certain matters the House of Lords is representative of the nation in a way that the House of Commons can never be. Not a few would welcome representatives of the Roman Catholic hierarchy there, but know it to be impossible from the very nature and constitution of the Roman Catholic Church. The attitude of the people of this realm towards the theory and practice of the governance of that Church was settled by the Statutes of Præmunire and cannot be reopened. The Roman Catholic Church assumes the existence of world sovereignty in religious affairs; its constitution transcends all national boundaries. Pragmatically, in the world as it is, and not in a world as some of us would like it to be, I believe this theory to be, in the century in which we live, impracticable. Nationality is not an artificial invention of professional politicians. It is a compromise between the claims of race and the needs of government which, the moment we reject the conception of a universal secular sovereignty, becomes the very condition, quite literally the *sine qua non*, of civilization. To nationalism we owe whatever of real progress we have made since the days of the Antonines; to it we owe nearly all that makes life sweet, though, like other virtues, its exaggeration becomes a prison and its exaltation a vice. To depart from the compromise implied in the idea of nationality, except in exchange for a universal sovereignty, would be to plunge the world back to tribalism at a stage of economic development where such a return could only lead us straight back to the Dark Ages.

Rejecting, then, the ideal of a single hierarchic Church, let us, on practical grounds, work for the establishment and maintenance of a national Church; subject to such measure of control as may advance true religion and virtue. In the words of Saint Paul (Romans xiii): "The powers that be are ordained of God. Rulers are not a terror to good men but to the evil. Ye must needs

be subject for conscience' sake: for the powers that be are God's ministers."

Equally must we reject the idea of the parochial clergy of the Church of England as a priestly caste divorced from the daily life of the people and concerned principally with the holy mysteries of the Sacraments and the Church. It was of the established clergy that Lecky, the historian of European Morals, wrote:—

> Like the dew of Heaven the silent continuous action of this system falls over great tracts of human life and suffering. . . . It is impossible to doubt that the whole of this system would be greatly impaired if the Church were broken into fragments.

The Free Church minister deals with a congregation; a clergyman of the Church of England with a parish. The Free Church minister lacks independence owing to his financial dependence on his parishioners and in the poorest parts of England the Free Church is often numerically weakest.

The connection with the State is, moreover, a powerful antidote to the inclination to confine religion within the limits of individual emotion or belief, and keeps up a sense of the intimate relations between the Christian faith and character on the one hand, and human interests and social duties on the other. If it were removed, the ideals of religion prevalent in England would assuredly be lowered and impoverished, not in the Church only, but in other communions also.

There remains the highly technical question of Ecclesiastical Courts. Objection is taken to the fact that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is the ultimate Court of Appeal in Causes Ecclesiastical. The principles which guide that Court, the most august judicial tribunal in the world, were stated by the Court in its judgment on the Gorham Case as follows:—

> This court . . . has no jurisdiction . . . to settle matters of faith. . . . Its duty extends only to the consideration of that which is by law established to be the doctrine of the Church of England, upon the true and legal construction of her Articles

> and Formularies. We must apply to the construction of those books the same rules which have been long established, and are by law applicable to the construction of all written instruments.

Most of the parties now active in the Church of England have had some of their principal tenets condemned by an Ecclesiastical Court, and, as a rule, their liberty has been restored by the Judicial Committee. To read the judgments by the Ecclesiastical Courts after a lapse of years, and then to read those of the Judicial Committee, is to realize that the former, if permitted, would have stultified themselves and the Church, and that our liberties as churchmen are, in the hands of the Judicial Committee, in safe keeping. The writer of these words believes it to be a matter of life and death to the liberty and comprehensiveness of the Church of England that the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee should be retained, though the machinery is doubtless capable of improvement.

The Constitution of England is not merely a Constitution in State, it is a Constitution in Church and State. It is still true, as Milton wrote 300 years ago, that—

> the Englishman of many other nations is least atheistical, and bears a natural disposition of much reverence towards the Deity; but in his weakness and want of better instruction, which among us is frequently neglected . . . may fall not unlikely sometimes, as any other landman, into an uncouth opinion. But . . . I suppose that wherever mention is made of countries, manners, or men, the English people, among the first that shall be praised, may deserve to be accounted a right pious, right honest, and right hardy nation.

Disraeli said much the same thing seventy years ago.

> The English people are, without exception, the most enthusiastic people in the world. There are more excitable races, but for deep and fervid feeling there is no race at all equal to the English . . . The notes on the gamut of their feeling are few, but they are deep.
>
> Industry, liberty, religion form the solemn scale. Industry, Liberty, Religion, that *is* the history of England.

Vitaque mancipio nulli datur, omnibus usu, wrote

Lucretius. The Church of England, of which we are but trustees, has played and is playing a great and wholesome part in the life of the English people. The nation has owed much to it in the past; our old men may be allowed to dream dreams, and our young people to see visions (and they are seeing them to-day) of a time when, in the words of Milton, "A little generous prudence, a little forbearance of one another, and some grain of charity, might win all these diligencies to join and unite into one general and brotherly search after truth."

We may, in other words, look for a time—to be measured in generations rather than calendar years, when English Christians are united in one historic Church, free, comprehensive, Catholic and Evangelical. In mathematical parlance, the next term in the series after persecution was toleration, followed successively by equality and, we must hope, co-operation and reunion.

Meanwhile, to quote Milton once more:—

> Where there is much desire to learn, there of necessity will be much arguing, much writing, many opinions; for opinion in good men is but knowledge in the making. What some lament of, we rather should rejoice at, and should rather praise this pious forwardness among men to reassume the ill-deputed care of their religion into their own hands again.

Let us pray, in the words of the noble Prayer for Unity in the Accession Service, as approved by Convocation and promulgated by Order in Council (a service that is practically ignored on May 6 by nearly every cathedral and church in the realm).

"Give us grace seriously to take to heart the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions. Take away all hatred and prejudice, and whatsoever may hinder us from Godly Union and Concord . . . so we may henceforth be all of one heart, and of one soul, united in one holy bond of Truth and Peace, of Faith and Charity."

Parodies: No. 7

By Hugh Kingsmill

Some Modern Light-Bringers Extinguished by Thomas Carlyle.

George Bernard Shaw:

SHARPEST-EYED of spinsters I would call Shaw, with tongue to match. What of confusion or omission is by spinster eye perceivable in the right ordering of things, this will Shaw perceive and proclaim, in shrillest tones, very melodious to spinster ears, tho to mine not absolutely pleasant-sounding, I must confess. This world is no parlour to be dusted and put to rights by thee, George Shaw, nor by what other spinster soever, be she never so sharp of eye! Rather, indeed, quite the contrary, as I judge.

For nostrum, or cure-all, Shaw would have cheque, or like monetary scrip, weekly presented at each man or woman's house of all mankind; ice-grot of blubber-gorging Eskimo and mud-hut of Bush pigmy not excepted! A right spinsterish nostrum, or cure-all, this; properly conceivable, indeed, only by a spinster—of the family-solicitor-independent-means species, I would say. Poor, blind, staggering, almost despairful humanity, where in highest Heaven or lowest deeps of Hell shalt thou spy out *thy* family solicitor?

A brisk, easy personage, this Shaw; notably courteous in speech, too; and of some charm with that Irish twang or brogue of his, the worth of which for conciliatory purposes he is no wise blind to, if I guess aright! No deep vice in the man, as I reckon, nor alas! virtue either of any very serviceable order in these bad days. Intrinsically a brittle creature, of whom enough perhaps has now on all sides been spoken—or too much!

H. G. Wells:

A neat, compact, rounded little man, Wells, very pleasant in light talk with that twinkling eye; only alas!

not easily accessible for deeper soundings. I fancy a kind of fear of such soundings, as if what of interior depth were once there within him had in the interim most miserably been filled in with all manner of materialities, and worldly inanities, and such like choking rubbish; which filling-in he perhaps sadly guesses at, but will by no means inquire into, nor let others inquire into either! I could have wished him an absolutely other destiny than what has actually befallen him. A grim, haggard, hardly bearable destiny had been fitter for him, such as was appointed to the prophets of old. That, too, had been gladder for him in the end, had he but known!

In those first writings of his, sadly intermixed with Jules-Verne trivialities, not absolutely despicable perhaps, was matter of a quite other and to me absolutely more relishable order, viz., authentic portraiture, very bright and tender, of small souls heroically struggling *not* to be small souls, and so already in the way to be nearly *big* souls. I had much hope of Wells from those Kippses and Pollys and Lewishams of his. The little men were very dear to me, down there in their paltry stunted environments; hatefully girt about by most cruel circumstance as by impenetrable bramble thickets; yet manful still; and right valiantly pressing forward, bleed their hands never so. Something of heroic challenge even I could make out in their reedy tones; as of Lilliput homunculi squeaking valiantest defiance by no means to one singular solitary Gulliver, but to a whole army of Gullivers much rather! "Avaunt, all ye man-mountains and overgrown worthless Idols; Dukes, Manufacturers, Bishops, and what others skulk behind you! Right terrible to us your outward seeming truly; but what if your so horrific outward seeming be no ways comformable with your inward intrinsic force, but rather perhaps quite the reverse! That also is possible, and shall by us now forthwith be tried and to the uttermost tested, if we die for it!" Bravo, homunculi!

But alas! *not* "bravo, homunculus-spokesman!"

Homunculus-spokesman circulates freely these days among man-mountains, is actually himself almost swelled into a man-mountain! Finds he has considerably misjudged man-mountain species; money-men of that species more particularly; which money-men, he now wonderingly perceives, have got themselves to their present bigness that so they may be the more readily and amply serviceable to others, and would, for any private relish or solacement said bigness procures them, be most gladly quit of it! An evasion of their manifest duty which homunculus-spokesman begs them by no means to consider, but rather swell themselves, how painfully soever, to a yet more serviceable bigness. "See, here!" homunculus-spokesman cries, wagging foolishest Clissold prospectus-pamphlets, "See, here, money-men! United God-and-Mammon World-Betterment Concern! See, here! See, here!" Money-men smile; pocket prospectus-pamphlets; will con at leisure, and are extremely obliged. No death-and-doom foreboding prophet, this, they snugly muse! Adieu, poor Wells!

Lytton Strachey:

Our Wart-School of Modern Portraiture I name Biographer Strachey and his apes, blasphemously scribbling for pence their *Acta Stultorum*, or Deeds of the Fools. As tho there were no other veracity about a Hero but his warts! As tho brave Oliver's monition to Court Painter Lely had been: "Meddle not with my face! Paint my warts only!"

Terrible, almost despairful to me in its inward signification for these babbling godless times, is the thought of those other Acta, called *Acta Sanctorum*, or Deeds of the Saints, which the old monk penned up there in Iona, a thousand years and more gone now, in that age named Dark by us (Dark! Oh Heaven! By what impenetrablest pall of blackest Erebus are *we* encompassed then?) I scarcely know a beautifuller object than that old monk, seated there in his grim wind-and-water pounded islet,

a nimbus of saint faces—to his poor dim sight quite wartless!—smiling down upon him, as most painfully with squeaking goose-quill he traces out his pious chronicles. Modern enlightened eyes blink rather rapidly at that monk, I conjecture, and modern enlightened minds reflect—how very chilly that good foolish man must certainly have been! For my part I fancy a quite other interior warmth in that monk than what our modern heating contrivances procure a man! I think he could very well dispense with our modern heating contrivances, could that monk, upon whose upturned face an unspeakable radiancy of Heaven's light shone down between the black tempest-riven clouds, to whose ears the roaring winds and waters were the very voice of God—made audible for him!

Look a little upon that picture, steam-heated Biographer Strachey, and you others of the Wart-School generally! Bethink you if it were not wisely done to unwrite your Gospels according to Judas Iscariot; if it were not really the prudentest act you could perform to fling back your thirty or thirty thousand pieces of silver on account of royalties—ere it be too late!

Marcel Proust:

A wretched, diseased, little quack, Proust, who proclaims it salutary for internal complications that men should crawl through their own entrails with a microscope. I encountered him once, in a Paris house reckoned select for its soirées; a hollow, sick-eyed, dapper mannikin, to my view, for whom my presence in that company may have been a perhaps not absolutely propitious factor in the evening's enjoyment, as he had planned it. Accident momentarily juxtaposing us, there ensued an exchange of civilities: copious enough on his side; rather sparse on mine. I fancy he was considerably glad to slip from me, which he managed not undeftly; sudden recognition of friend for pretext. Said friend, a vacant, beautiful young man—Marquis or suchlike titled person-

age, I suppose—hardly perceivably inclined to Mannikin Proust's full bow from corsetted waist; which may have helped Mannikin Proust to fresh internal complications, I remember thinking.

D. H. Lawrence:

Poor ghastly Lawrence! A sadder, sicklier Guy Fawkes simulacrum of prophet and light-bringer I have not looked upon; fit only to be tossed above a rubbish heap of dead branches and like combustible matter, and there utterly consumed, with all his Bedlam rout of worshippers, male and female—female preponderating, I opine!

I had speech with him once, and plainly perceived him to be not long for this world, at which I rejoiced, for his sake largely. A haggard, twitching little man; pinched face much overlaid with hair of the reddish sort; eyes not unbeautiful, hazel-coloured as I remember; a kind of wounded bewilderment in them—rather pitiful, I thought. His manner with me was sweetish-sickly; considerably womanish in its evident aim to please; but with no goodwill behind it, to me or any other son of Adam! An evident cover for bottomless spites and rages (of the weak kind) I judged that manner of his on the whole to be.

This Lawrence is to me not properly a man at all, but much rather a disease of these maddest times. Good, were the disease more swiftly mortal to them that take it! Poor Lawrence! Poor Colney-Hatched Christ!

The Restoration of Property

I.—Preliminaries

By Hilaire Belloc

MAN, to live, must transform his environment from a state in which it is less into a state in which it is more useful to himself. This process is called " The Production of Wealth." Moreover, if a man is to live conformably to his nature, there must be available for his consumption a certain amount of wealth, in a certain variety, for a certain unit of time. For instance, in our society, he must have so much bread, so much meat, so much of a number of different foods every day, so much beer or wine or spirits (or, if he be too weak to consume these, so much tea or coffee or what not); a sufficient amount of somewhat complicated clothing, all to last over such and such an amount of time; and a sufficiency of fuel, housing and all the rest of it, also to last a certain time.

Now this transformation of environment called " The Production of Wealth " is obviously only possible through the use of the instruments of production. A family can only live conformably to its human nature (that is, without undue suffering) in a given civilization on condition that it receives securely and constantly so much of this varied wealth for its consumption. But the wealth can only come into existence through the manipulating of natural forces by certain instruments; and there must also be an existing store of food and clothing and housing and the rest of it so that human beings may carry on during the process of production. These stores of wealth, these instruments and these natural forces are the *Means of Production.*

It is obvious that whoever controls the means of production controls the supply of wealth. If therefore the means for the production of that wealth which a family needs are in the control of others than the family, the family will be dependent upon those others;

it will not be economically free. The family is ideally free when it fully controls all the means necessary for the production of such wealth as it should consume for normal living. Now such an ideal is inhuman, because man is a social animal. It is not impossible of achievement for a short time, and has been briefly achieved whenever a lonely settler has fixed himself with his family and his stores in an isolated spot. But it is not permanent, and even while it lasts is below the requirements of human nature, stunting and degrading it.

Society being necessary to man, there arise in the economic field these two limitations to economic freedom :—

First, that each in a society will concentrate upon what he has the best opportunity for producing and by exchanging his surplus of it for that which another has the best opportunity for producing, will increase the wealth of all : or what comes to the same thing, lessen the burden of labour for all. Thus men live more happily in an agricultural village if there is a miller to grind the wheat instead of every family grinding it under its own roof and if there is a cobbler to mend and make their boots—and so on. Secondly, there must exist in some form the State; a sufficiently large unit for the development of the arts and the better complexities of life. Its power must be appealed to for the satisfaction of justice and prevention of internal disorder and organization of defence against external aggression. In general it must exercise some restraint upon the ideal economic freedom of the family. But there is a test of the limit after which such restriction of freedom is an evil, and that test lies in the power of the family to re-act against that which limits its freedom. There must be a human relation between the family and those forces which, whether through the division of labour or the action of the State, restrict its full liberty of choice in action. It must have not only power to complain but power to make its complaint effective.

It has been found in practice (that is, it is discoverable through history) that economic freedom thus somewhat limited satisfies the nature of man, and at the basis of it is the control of the means of production by the family unit. For though the family exchange its surplus, or even all its production, for the surplus of others, yet it retains its freedom. The freehold miller, though he has no arable or pasture, is a free man. The yeoman, though he gets his flour from the miller, is a free man.

The name for a control of the Means of Production is "Property." It has been found in practice, and the truth is witnessed to by the instincts in all of us, that property as a condition of freedom is necessary to the normal well-being of human life.

To-day in England property in this sense has been lost. Ownership is not a general feature of our society, determining its character. On the contrary, absence of ownership, dependence on a precarious wage at the will of others is the general feature of our society and determines its character.

The family does not possess that freedom which is necessary for its full moral health and that of the State of which it is the unit. Hence our society has fallen into the diseased condition known as "Industrial Capitalism." In this state the control of the Means of Production is vested in a comparatively small number; consequently economic freedom has ceased to be a determining note, giving its tone to society.

"Capitalism" does not mean a state of society in which capital has been accumulated, its accumulation protected, and itself put to use in producing wealth. Capital so accumulated, protected and used must so exist in any human society whatsoever, even a Communist one. Nor does "Capitalism" mean a state of society in which capital is owned as private property by the citizens. On the contrary, such a society of free owners is the opposite of Capitalism as the word is here used. I use the term "Capitalism" here to mean a

state of society in which a minority control the means of production, leaving the mass of the citizens dispossessed.

Industrial Capitalism has in its present phase other grave evils attached to it besides the loss of freedom, for the evils of Insecurity and Insufficiency are attached to it. But those two evils might be eliminated and yet economic freedom be absent from the mass of society. There are two ways in which they could be eliminated without the restoration of freedom.

The first way is through that which I have called elsewhere "The Servile State."* In this form of society the minority controlling the means of production supports all the dispossessed, even those whom it does not use in exploitation, and thus forms a stable society though one from which freedom is eliminated. The second way is Communism—of its nature unstable but practicable at a heavy strain though, presumably, for only a comparatively short space of time. Under that second system the means of production are controlled by the officers of the State and the wealth produced is distributed, at their discretion, among the families, or, if an attempt be made to abolish even the family, then among the individuals of the community.

There is a third form of society, and it is the only one in which sufficiency and security can be combined with freedom, and that form is a society in which property is well distributed and so large a proportion of the families of the State severally *own* and therefore control the means of production as to determine the general tone of society, making it neither Capitalist nor Communist, but Proprietary. If, then, we regard economic freedom as a good, our object must be thus to restore property. We must seek political and economic reforms which shall tend to distribute property more and more widely until the owners of sufficient Means of Production (land or capital or both) are numerous enough to determine the character of society.

* In my book "The Servile State" published by Messrs. Constable & Co.

But is economic freedom a good?

Unless we regard it as a good the search for methods by which property may be restored is futile or harmful. Indeed, as we shall see in a moment, unless a sufficient number of our fellow-citizens feel it with a sufficient degree of intensity to be a good, economic freedom (that is, Property) can never be restored.

So it behoves us at the outset to consider this question, whether or no economic freedom be a good.

Economic freedom can only be a good if it fulfils some need in our nature.

Now there is discoverable in man, Freewill. His actions are of moral value to him if they are undertaken upon his own initiative; not if they are undertaken under compulsion. Therefore the use of choice is necessary to human dignity. A man deprived of choice is by that the less a man, and this we all show through the repugnance excited in us by unauthorized restraint and subjection through coercion rather than authority to an external will. We cannot do good, or even evil, unless we do it freely. And if we admit the idea of good at all in human society, freedom must be its accompaniment.

Next, economic freedom is a good because man's actions are multiple, both his desires and his creative faculties; but it is only in the possession of economic freedom that this multiplicity can be effective. Deprived of economic freedom the units of society, the family and in some degree the individual, lack the power to express that diversity which is life. In the absence of economic freedom there must weigh upon any human society a dead and mechanical uniformity, increasingly leaden, and heavy, and stifling in proportion to the absence of freedom.

To all this two answers may be given by those who dread the restoration of property, or those who regard it as impossible.

First it may be said that men have economic freedom under State ownership. Secondly, it may be said that

economic freedom, though a good, is of no moment in comparison with material satisfaction.

As to first answer. It has been widely said in the recent past that economic freedom can exist without the institution of property, because, under a Communist system, men own though they own corporately; and can dispose of their own lives, though such disposition be indirect and through delegates. This false argument is born of the dying Parliamentary theory in politics; it proceeds from the false statement which deceived three generations of Europe, from the great French Revolution to our own day, that corporate action may be identified with individual action. So men speak of their so-called political "Representatives" as having been "chosen" by themselves. But in experienced reality there is no such thing as this imagined permanent corporate action through delegation. On some very simple universal point which all understand and in which all are interested and on which all feel strongly you may have the desire of the bulk of people expressed through delegation; but the innumerable acts of choice and expression which make up human life can never work through a system of delegation. Even in the comparatively simple field of mere political action, delegation destroys freedom. Parliaments prove irreconcilable with democracy. They are not the people. They are oligarchies, and those oligarchies are corrupt because they pretend to a false character and to be, or to mirror, the nation.

If this be true of mere politics it is obviously true of that millioned affair, our daily lives. Ownership by delegation is a contradiction in terms.

When men say for instance (by a false metaphor) that each member of the public should feel himself an owner of public property—such as a Town Park—and should therefore respect it as his own, they are saying something which all our experience proves to be completely false. No man feels of public property that it is his own; no man will treat it with the care or the affection of a thing which is his own; still less can a man express himself

through the use of a thing which is not his own, but shared in common with a mass of others.

As to the second answer. It is said by many to-day that the satisfaction of man's immediate material necessities is on a different and infinitely more important plane than the satisfaction of his need for freedom. Economic freedom, if indeed it be a good at all, is (they say) a good of a much lesser sort, intangible, and something which men can well do without; therefore, since the enjoyment of it imperils the obtaining of material necessities, it must give way to that much greater good.

There is in this reply a measure of truth which gives it all its strength. It is half-true; but the falsehood attached to the half truth vitiates the whole statement.

Where urgent material necessities are unsatisfied they must be satisfied first. Shipwrecked men on a raft at sea must live, exceptionally, under Communism. The dispossessed, in a capitalist society must at least be kept alive. But it is not true that, such exceptional remedies for an unnatural evil having been used, we must go on to destroy the good of economic freedom for the advantage of still more material wealth.

This last argument is one of the many which we find in common to those who defend the Capitalist system and those who defend the Communist system; for Socialism and Capitalism are twin successive products of the same false philosophy. The defenders of Capitalism tell us that it may have destroyed men's economic freedom; under Capitalism a man can less and less choose what he wants nor express his personality and character in the arts, but at least Capitalism has given him in far greater numbers a far greater mass of material goods than he had before it arose. The Communist goes one better. He says, "Yes; and under *my* system by suppressing economic freedom altogether we shall give him yet more material goods, and we shall see that everybody gets them in almost unlimited amount."

If it were indeed true that economic freedom could not

coexist with a great deal of production, and still less with a sufficient distribution, then would it yet be worth while to sacrifice some portion of the material good, still more, to permit inequality in distribution, for the sake of the economic freedom. But the truth is, as we shall see later on, that the supposed conflict between freedom and abundance, between freedom and a general enjoyment of that abundance, is an illusion born of Capitalism. It is an illusion which arises from the fact that the men who cherish it have so lived under a capitalist system all their lives that they can conceive of no alternative save a further development of it into Communism.

Economic freedom is a good, it is among the highest of temporal goods because it is necessary to the highest life of society through the dignity of man and through the multiplicity of his action, in which multiplicity is life. Through it alone can the units of society react upon the State. Through it alone can a public opinion flourish. Only where the bulk of the cells are healthy can the whole organism thrive. It is therefore our business to restore economic freedom through the restoration of the only institution under which it flourishes, which institution is Property. The problem before us is, how to restore Property so that it shall be, as it was not so long ago, a general institution.

Three provisos must be kept clearly in mind before we approach the problem and attempt its practical solution.

The first Proviso is that in the restoration of property we are not attempting, and could never reach, a mechanical perfection. We are only attempting to change the general tone of society and restore property as a commonly present, not a universal, institution.

The second Proviso is that we cannot even begin such a reform unless there is a favourable state of mind present in society, a desire to own property, sufficient to support and maintain the movement and to nourish institutions which will make it permanent.

The third Proviso is that in this attempt to restore

Economic Freedom the powers of the State, which are often unreasonably contrasted with economic freedom, must be invoked.

The first Proviso is, I say, that, unlike the Servile State and unlike the Communist State, the Proprietary State does not present an ideal solution. There can be no perfection about it, it must remain incomplete: nor could there be a better proof that the attempt is a human one, consonant to human nature.

To establish the Servile State one has but to follow certain lines which lead rapidly to an ideal conclusion: the same is true with regard to the Communist State. A simple formula and its exact application will, in each case, produce the ideal society envisaged.

In the first case all that is needed to produce the complete Servile State is a series of laws whereby every family—or every individual, if the family be eliminated—shall receive at least so much wealth as will maintain a certain standard of comfort and leisure; this minimum being provided for the dispossessed out of the stores controlled by the possessors. It will be distributed either in the form of wages, that is, the granting to the dispossessed by the possessors of some portion of the wealth which the dispossessed are producing by leave of the possessors; *or*, in the case of those who cannot be so employed, of relief during their enforced idleness.

This is the simple ideal of society to which we, in modern England, are advancing with great rapidity; indeed we have almost reached it.

The Possessors alone remain enjoying economic freedom, the dispossessed—the very great majority—are deprived of it; but there is already at least security of *some* revenue for nearly all, and there can, with proper organization, be sufficiency for all as well. The only good lost to the masses, if it be a good, is freedom. For in such a state of society (the Servile State) the determining note is lack of freedom: the determining mass of society have no experience of economic liberty. The master class

directs and is free: but society thinks and acts in terms of wage-earners. The masses are kept alive, they are taught in childhood, treated in illness; soon no one of them may be suffering either hunger or cold or lack of any plain material necessity consonant to the type of civilization in which they live. But their activities are at the mercy of their masters.

Under the Communist scheme the matter is simpler still. It being made an offence for any man to own, all right to the use of accumulation by a family or an individual being destroyed, and all right of inheritance being also destroyed, the whole produce of the community is available for distribution to all. And Economic Freedom has disappeared for all through the action of a very few simple but absolute coercive laws.

The formulæ of the two schemes have been put in the past very well by Mr. Orage, in words which appeared some 20 or 30 years ago in "The New Age." I have not the exact phrases by me, but their sense is as follows:—

"Imagine a condition of affairs in which one machine is capable of producing all that society requires. Let that machine (and the natural forces) be under the control of one man. He is then the Capitalist of an ideally perfect Industrial Capitalist System. He will employ directly in industry as many men as may be required to work the machine. They will receive sustenance in the form of wages. He will also employ sundry other men, not directly in producing wealth with the machine, but ministering his enjoyment; they may paint for him, print books for him, act plays for him, supply his domestic wants, and so forth. The rest will be unemployed. But as society would never be stable if the rest were to be condemned to death by starvation laws will appear which demand by taxation, or customs will appear which demand by voluntary organization, so much of the produce of the machine as is necessary to support the unemployed. But these will not have the determining of what they are to receive, for they are not

possessors. Their subsistence is doled out to them without their having discretion in the matter. And that is the Servile State. Or imagine the machine, and the material forces to which it is to be applied, controlled, not by one possessor, the Capitalist, but by the officers of the community, who shall at their discretion employ or dole out to each from the production of the machine, *then* you have the Communist State."

But the Proprietary State, the state of society such as our ancestors enjoyed, in which property is well distributed, does not admit of this simplicity, nor, being human, of this mechanical perfection. Property being a personal and human institution normal to man will always be and must be diversified. There is no advantage moral or social in land and capital being exactly distributed and there is no possibility of their being universally distributed. It would suffice for the health of the State by the Restoration of Property if, at the end of the reforming process, so many families were found possessed of property (in a sufficient amount) to give their tone to the State; just as to-day the wage-earner and salary-earner, the proletarians of every grade, give *their* proletarian tone to the State. The proletarians to-day vary in the degree of their dispossession, some have only the clothes they stand in, others a little furniture as well, others some further small insufficient accumulation—a few shares, or a mortgaged house or what not—but the note which they strike, the character which they impress upon society, is that of a wage-earning State rapidly turning into a Servile State.

But whereas the Servile State to which we are now tending can be complete, the Proprietary (or Distributist) State neither can nor should be complete; for it cannot of its nature be mechanical. There will be many comparatively poor, and some comparatively rich. There will presumably be some proportion of dispossessed. But Property, and its accompaniment Economic Freedom, will be the mark of society as a whole.

The second Proviso, that we can do nothing unless there is a state of mind favourable to us, may seem to make the whole effort futile. The state of society in which we are now living in England has largely forgotten what property is. Men talk in terms of employment and wages. When they talk of ownership the word calls up in their minds the ownership of large property by a few. Whether there remains to-day in England a desire for economic freedom, that is, for property, *sufficient* to nourish the beginnings of a change, nothing but experiment can decide. Increase of revenue, not ownership, is the object of most men. Ownership is certainly not the object of *most* men, if it were, there would have been successful protest long ago against the wage-earning system.

As we all know, there was some confused protest at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution and throughout its earlier stages; there was violence used to try and prevent the enclosure of the commons and there were riots against the new machines. But that was a long time ago. Take the process as a whole, from the first great confiscation under the Statute of Frauds in the 17th century when a mass of small yeomen were dispossessed, follow it on to the mid 19th century, and you do not find at any stage a clear determination to maintain well-divided property nor even a widespread instinct in its favour. It was because such a spirit was lacking that Capitalism came upon us. In countries where that spirit was present, though Capitalism has also taken root there, it has never flourished in the same way, it has always been handicapped.

But though the appetite for private property has weakened, though it is not present as yet in the mass of the wage-earning population, its relics may prove, if the first experiments can be undertaken, sufficiently vital to leaven the whole body of society gradually. It may be possible to "re-plant" property, just as one can re-afforest a piece of bare ground by taking advantage

of exceptional patches, establishing the new growth there, sheltering its beginnings, and leaving it to propagate itself when it shall have sufficient strength. Only, what we must not trust to is the mere machinery of reform. Of its nature property is the product of a human desire: we can help on that desire to achieve its fulfilment, but we cannot create it. We cannot make owners by merely giving men something to own. And, I repeat, whether there be sufficient desire for property left upon which we can work or no, only experience can decide.

The third Proviso, that we must call in the State to help us, should present no difficulties save to minds misled by the false categories of the 19th century—by such terms as "Individualism" which never did or could correspond to any reality. The evil from which we are suffering to-day is not the evil of State-interference but the evil of the loss of Freedom. State-interference may have for its effect a loss of Freedom and certainly usually has for its object the loss of Freedom, but it always may be and very often must be invoked for the very purpose of restoring Freedom. There must be laws to protect property not only against direct rapine but against dissolution through certain forms of competition. There must be State sanction for the powers of the Guild, for the process of Inheritance, for the restriction of undue burdens. There must be some official machinery for fostering the propagation of small property just as there is official machinery to-day fostering the destruction of small, widespread property by large owners: and the effort at restoring property will certainly fail if it is hampered by any superstition against the use of force as the handmaid of justice. All the powers of the State have been invoked by Capitalism to restore servile conditions; we shall not react against servile conditions unless we avail ourselves of the same methods.

(To be continued.)

Gold and Silver

By H. Rothbarth

The essence of money is quantity and limitation not the material of which it is made.

THE sole practical function of money in the world to-day is to be a measurer of values and therefore a convenient common denominator for the exchange of commodities *inter se*. The essential of any measure is its stability; a yard is not shorter one day and longer another; a pound of feathers weighs the same as a pound of lead. This quality of stability is no less essential in the case of money than in that of a measure of length or weight or whatever it may be. The unit of money should never vary; it should at all times represent the same volume of commodities; otherwise it is fraudulent in that it prevents the fulfilment of contracts expressed in terms of money in accordance with the intentions of both parties to the contract at the time of its initiation. But money as we know it at present is in fact unstable, and as the business of the community under modern conditions is conducted almost in its entirety on the basis of contracts expressed in terms of money it follows that the injustice involved in its instability affects the lives of all members of the community without distinction, from the largest creditor to the humblest wage earner.

If, when a contract expires (and a wage earner is in effect just as much a contract holder as a creditor), the money in which it is discharged commands less commodities than it did when the contract was entered into, the recipient of the money obtains a smaller payment than in justice he is entitled to receive; if the money commands more commodities the payer of the money makes a larger payment than in justice can be demanded of him. In the few years which have elapsed since the war the world has had bitter experience of both types of injustice. On the one hand it has seen creditors in Germany paid

in full the money owing to them, yet reduced to penury as the money commanded no commodities. On the other hand, it has seen honest debtors endeavouring to provide the money to pay interest and amortization on their indebtedness, by the sale of a volume of commodities vastly greater than would have been necessary when the debt was contracted. And it has also seen many debtors forced to throw in their hands and refuse to carry on the unequal struggle. These injustices occur perpetually under the present monetary system, which is not constituted to fulfil its main function, of providing a stable standard of value. A scientific and logical system ensuring stability has been propounded and could be achieved, but it is based on the volume of commodities produced and not on the volume of one or two precious metals, the production of which varies, is not definitely calculable and has no relation to the volume of commodities of which the metals directly or indirectly are the medium of exchange. A scientific system would enable production to expand without depressing the price level and thus curtailing business activity, for by an increase in production and by no other means can humanity's standard of living be raised.

The greater the production of commodities the greater is the world's wealth. Yet under the present monetary conditions, in spite of the fact that machinery has made the capacity for production almost unlimited, there is unemployment, starvation and destitution in the midst of plenty. The *reductio ad absurdum* is complete if one considers what would happen were machinery to become so efficient that it could dispense with human labour. Displaced labour has no purchasing power. If no labour were necessary, there would be no purchasing power and nothing could be sold. Thus mankind would be condemned to watch the unlimited production of the necessaries of life until death supervened from starvation or exposure. But reason tells us that with such perfected machinery mankind should, in fact, be

able to enjoy all the good things of the earth with unlimited leisure in which to do so.

One must take the world as one finds it, however, and the demand for a metallic monetary system seems to be so widespread and insistent as not to be gainsaid.

Few bimetallists claim that a bimetallic monetary system would ensure absolute stability in the value of money. Thus it is not perfect, and theoretically it may appear unsound. But bimetallists do claim that a system based on gold and silver comes far nearer perfection than a system based on gold alone. They have history as an ally. Within the memory of men now living so many nations employed gold and silver at a fixed ratio, the one to the other as the basis of their monetary systems that the whole world enjoyed the benefit of bimetallism, though it may not consciously have been aware of the fact. Great Britain had been mono-metallic with gold as the metal for many years. China, India and other countries of lesser importance were mono-metallic with silver as the metal. They did not have to resort to barter, however, as, if Great Britain sold goods and got silver in payment, it could exchange the silver for gold in any of the bimetallic areas at a fixed and known ratio. Similarly if the silver-using countries sold goods and got gold the bimetallic countries were available for the purpose of exchange. With the abandonment of bimetallism after the Franco-Prussian War barter became the order of the day, since silver was then a commodity like any other and as such liable to a variation in market value. There were then gold standard and silver standard countries with no mutual medium of exchange. That was the first disaster. The second disaster developed more slowly. The countries which abandoned silver for gold became persistent sellers of silver. The supply was greater than the demand and the ratio of approximately fifteen ounces of silver to one ounce of gold, which had obtained for centuries and which was in rough accord with the volume of production, gradually widened, until to-day

it requires over seventy ounces of silver to buy one ounce of gold. There have been violent fluctuations in the intervening period. The pre-devalorization price was about 5s. per standard ounce. At the beginning of the war it had declined to 2s. Then came an enormous rise to 7s. 6d. in 1920, followed by a still more enormous decline to 1s. in 1931, since when there has been a recovery in the sterling price to 1s. 7d., which is chiefly a reflection of the lower value of the pound.

The case for bimetallism can be shortly stated :—

(1) It would provide all countries on a metallic standard with a common monetary medium of exchange.

(2) It could be put into operation without difficulty or friction since it is not a new and untried system but only the resumption of one which was much longer and more widely in operation than the gold standard.

(3) It would cause the public no inconvenience; indeed, it would be difficult to acquaint the public with the change that had been made.

(4) It would provide a measure of inflation which could not get out of control, as it would be limited to the amount of silver which would flow to the central banks and thus become available as currency or as backing for the issue of notes.

(5) It would benefit trade, as the higher the price of silver the lower can be the price of copper, lead and zinc of which most of the silver produced is a by-product.

(6) The revalorization of silver would increase the wealth of those people—primarily the Indians and Chinese—to whom silver for untold centuries has been a store of value and by increasing their wealth would do an immense amount to allay unrest and stimulate world trade.

The opponents of bimetallism do not so much deny its advantages as they stress the difficulties to be overcome before it could be put into operation; the risk of a break-down owing to a large increase in the volume of silver produced; the dislocation which the revalorization of

silver would cause to China and its tendency to inflation.

These objections are not negligible and deserve the fullest consideration.

The initial difficulties are not in the least likely to prove insuperable provided Great Britain be determined. The bimetallic area must be sufficiently large to make success for all time certain. It would not be a success if it were confined to a small area which could be drained of all its gold in exchange for silver and thereafter would be forced to buy gold at a premium to pay for its imports from gold standard countries. The area must, therefore, comprise the British Empire, including, of course, India, and either the United States or France, including Indo-China, though preferably both. Most other nations would flock to the bimetallic standard immediately. It would be greatly to their advantage to do so. And if one or another decided to remain monometallic it would not matter at all. There are strong silver parties in both the United States and France, and given a resolute lead they would have every chance to get their way. This is particularly true of the United States, but France is by no means a lost hope. The difficulties are greatly lessened by the fact that no campaign to instruct, persuade and convince the public would be necessary. The laws to be passed would be exceedingly simple and would leave the public indifferent. The central banks within the bimetallic areas would be required to buy and sell silver at the agreed prices at all times in unlimited amounts. The silver thus acquired would have the same status as gold; only the value per ounce would be different. It would be available as metallic cover for the issue of notes; it would form a part of the banks' metallic reserves; it would be used indiscriminately with gold for the settlement of international differences within the bimetallic area. The public has never worried about the amount of the fiduciary note issue. Why, then, should it worry if the bank holds gold, silver and Govern-

ment securities instead of only gold, a negligible amount of silver and Government securities? Except in the form of small change the public never sees silver any more than gold and it would not do so under a bimetallic system. It would continue to use paper money as heretofore and go on its way unperturbed.

A breakdown arising out of an increase in silver production could not occur unless the central banks ceased to buy at the fixed price. They have never ceased to buy gold whilst the gold standard was in operation and there is no more reason to fear such an occurrence than to fear a breakdown in the gold standard if a new goldfield were to be discovered or if the Rand increased its output. The present production of silver is approximately 200,000,000 ounces per annum. It has never been suggested that the output would be likely to increase by more than 50 per cent. even if the price of silver were 4s. gold per ounce. One hundred million ounces at 4s. gold is a matter of £20,000,000 gold—a sum less than third the amount which has come from the gold hoards of India and entered the stream of commerce since Great Britain was forced off the gold standard.

Any change in the value of silver, whether up or down, must benefit some classes and harm others in those countries—chiefly China—on the silver standard, and the effect of a drastic revalorization needs to be carefully considered, the advantages weighed against the disadvantages. The ratio should be a compromise between the pre-devalorization price and the present figure in order to be fair both to those whose wealth consists of silver and to those who have seized the fortuitous opportunity presented by the fall in silver to build up large business interests. The considerations can be summarized as follows:—

(1) The Chinese and Indian peasants, in so far as they are holders of silver, like to see the price high, and in this connection it must be remembered that for hundreds of years prior to the seventies of the nineteenth century a

high price had been constant and that much, if not most, of the unrest in both countries has been due to the fall which the peasants cannot understand and which they attribute to the machinations of a malevolent government.

(2) The fall in the price of silver has stimulated exports from and impeded imports into the silver areas. Factories have sprung up to manufacture locally those goods which were formerly imported from gold standard countries, and which became too expensive as silver fell.

(3) The silver-using countries are in need of further capital in almost unlimited amount for their development. This capital would be forthcoming far more readily if silver were stabilized and revalorized.

A ratio of twenty to one has been frequently suggested and may be considered fair. There is no reason to suppose that it would ruin China, as has been sometimes stated. Civil wars, floods, famines and the fall of silver have all ruined China at one time or another if one can believe what one reads, but China still lives and trades. And if the occidental nations with their high standard of living, exorbitant taxation and rigid wage system have been able to withstand a threefold appreciation in the value of gold, what reason is there to anticipate that a three- or four-fold rise in silver would bring disaster to China, which can adapt itself to changed conditions with far greater ease? Furthermore, from the standpoint of this country a drastic revaluation of silver would be a tremendous advantage, as it would both give our exporters a chance to recover some of the trade which was lost to them by allowing the bottom to drop out of the silver market, and would check the further industrialization of countries on the silver standard. The pity is that this ground, which may yet be recoverable, should ever have been lost.

Inflation and deflation are both objectionable since they are both a negation of that stability which money as the measurer should represent. Inflation, which enriches the *entrepreneur* at the expense of the creditor

and the *rentier* and thus enables business and employment to expand, is, however, far less harmful to the community, if not allowed to get out of hand. Yet paradoxically and for no known reason deflation is considered virtuous and laudable and inflation vicious and pernicious. The world at present is in the throes of a deflationary cycle of such intensity that it appears to be producing its own antidote by making inflation inevitable. Unbalanced budgets bring inflation in their train and it is impossible to-day to find a nation of first-rate importance which could claim a balanced budget if proper accountancy methods were employed. Great Britain claims a balanced budget, but in fact she is paying her way out of capital and has not legitimately balanced income and expenditure since the war. Estate duties are paid almost entirely out of capital, income tax and surtax come in no small measure from the same source. Furthermore, taxation generally appears to have been hoisted so high as to yield diminishing returns. As a result it will have to be reduced. Economic facts compel attention and soothing words will not dispel them. The United States has a deficit running apparently into hundreds of millions of pounds; France has a deficit, partially obscured by a separate railway budget, of nearly a hundred million pounds; Germany has instituted an ingenious system of collecting taxes and giving receipts therefor available for the payment of taxes during the next five years or alternatively discountable at the Reichsbank. The list could be largely expanded, but the state of the countries mentioned is sufficient to show what is happening.

When national income is less than the expenditure, bankruptcy does not occur, since money is a sovereign matter and can be created to fill the void. Civil servants, widows, old-age pensioners, and all those others in receipt of State pay will get their stipends as long as the printing presses remain in operation and can produce notes or saleable securities. Nor is inflation, even if it were avoidable, undesirable. Deflation has gone so far and

prices have been forced to such a low level that business has become unprofitable, and in the near future a shortage of all primary commodities will occur unless relief be forthcoming. The agriculturist will refuse—is refusing—to work at a loss and even if he tries to carry on he will be unable to do so owing to the exhaustion of his capital. Land will revert—is reverting—to primeval nature, and the world will wake up to find itself without its accustomed supplies. The crisis cannot be cured by deflation and more deflation, by pulling in of belts, by taxing business beyond its capacity to pay, by cutting down salaries, interest on the public debt and public expenditure, thus reducing consumptive power and still further harming commerce and industry by increasing unemployment. The breaking point would have been reached long ere now if the gold standard had not given way. There is another, a different and a better solution. Let inflation be made salutary and respectable. Let Great Britain, the United States, France and Germany agree to inaugurate a five-years' plan designed to give business a chance by reduction in taxation, an increase in expenditure on public works, and a deliberately incurred budgetary deficit to be filled by borrowing in the form of interest-free debt, that is by an issue of notes, until such time as the business recovery produces tax receipts sufficient to fill the gap. The objections are obvious. Inflation decreases the purchasing power of the wage earner, the creditor and the *rentier*, and thus curtails the market for commodities and forces a new deflationary cycle. These objections could be overcome by a differentiation between bank and current money, the volume of the latter being regulated by a retail index number. That plan which has been propounded elsewhere would deprive inflation of its sting. The *entrepreneur* would be benefited without detriment to anyone and the inflation inherent in the adoption of bimetallism would be shorn of every disadvantage, would write Finis to the crisis and would make the world anew.

The Critics

I. The Young Æsthete

By Humbert Wolfe

Take first the youth, ingenuously plastic
by nature and by years enthusiastic,
but lately weaned from Stevenson and Henty
who (blushing) hears a patriarch of twenty
denounce his heroes at the sort of meeting
where men wear jerseys, and the women sheeting,
as something less than dull and more than hearty
designed by God for a suburban party—
Swinburne e.g. a sentimental prude,
who often seemed, but never dared be, lewd,
the Nineties stumbling like a pauper child
in the discarded clothes of Oscar Wilde,
Yeats walking out into the Celtic fog
to see a gnome about a fairy dog,
and last the Georgians, who had sweetly sung
(in town) the rural joys of carting dung.
Thrown off his balance at this sudden halt
our youth at once performs a somersault,
and with a renegade's (or convert's) zest
assumes the jersey and outsneers the rest.
In the heart itching with these nettle-rashes
hate like a Phoenix rises from love's ashes,
but scatters them, ascending, in the mind
by their dim office ever after blind.
In all he reads he searches for the blemish
(unless the writer's Slav or Czech or Flemish,
and therefore by the dictum of his schism
immune from any English criticism)
snorts at such words as " petal ", " star ", and " rose ",
feels with his belly, reasons with his nose,
discards all syntax and despises vowels
thinks love a complex or disordered bowels
and so applauded by erotic dons
—the antlered consorts of Muse altifrons—

he poisons, standing on the dunce's stool,
all the world's wisdom with faint ridicule.
Then having gained his English Third—or worse
(because of prejudiced examiners)
burning his Raleigh and his Leslie Stephen
(but clutching Babbit to make matters even)
with lips and hair both permanently curled
emerges from his crib to tell the world.
Small wonder that he grows from hour to hour
from ripe to rotten and from tart to sour,
that disillusion first an idle pose—
or gutter-urchin's fingers to his nose—
rides him upon the snaffle and becomes
the witch of Endor pricking on his thumbs,
till in the end too jaded to sneer or think
he finds the secret of the Muse in drink,
or, wiser, leaves his rivals to estrange
poetry and truth—and joins the Stock Exchange.

The Critics

I. The Young Æsthete

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denounce his heroes at the sort of meeting
where men wear jerseys, and the women sheeting,
as something less than dull and more than hearty
designed by God for a suburban party—
Swinburne e.g. a sentimental prude,
who often seemed, but never dared be, lewd,
the Nineties stumbling like a pauper child
in the discarded clothes of Oscar Wilde,
Yeats walking out into the Celtic fog
to see a gnome about a fairy dog,
and last the Georgians, who had sweetly sung
(in town) the rural joys of carting dung.
Thrown off his balance at this sudden halt
our youth at once performs a somersault,
and with a renegade's (or convert's) zest
assumes the jersey and outsneers the rest.
In the heart itching with these nettle-rashes
hate like a Phoenix rises from love's ashes,
but scatters them, ascending, in the mind
by their dim office ever after blind.
In all he reads he searches for the blemish
(unless the writer's Slav or Czech or Flemish,
and therefore by the dictum of his schism
immune from any English criticism)
snorts at such words as " petal ", " star ", and " rose ",
feels with his belly, reasons with his nose,
discards all syntax and despises vowels
thinks love a complex or disordered bowels
and so applauded by erotic dons
—the antlered consorts of Muse altifrons—

he poisons, standing on the dunce's stool,
all the world's wisdom with faint ridicule.
Then having gained his English Third—or worse
(because of prejudiced examiners)
burning his Raleigh and his Leslie Stephen
(but clutching Babbit to make matters even)
with lips and hair both permanently curled
emerges from his crib to tell the world.
Small wonder that he grows from hour to hour
from ripe to rotten and from tart to sour,
that disillusion first an idle pose—
or gutter-urchin's fingers to his nose—
rides him upon the snaffle and becomes
the witch of Endor pricking on his thumbs,
till in the end too jaded to sneer or think
he finds the secret of the Muse in drink,
or, wiser, leaves his rivals to estrange
poetry and truth—and joins the Stock Exchange.

Politics and Lawlessness in the United States

By Luigi Villari

AN American lady, while recently motoring through the Balkan peninsula, came upon an ancient monastery in one of the wildest and remotest mountain valleys of Bulgaria. The aged *igoumenos* who conducted her round the venerable building, asked her from what country she came. On being told that she was an American, he replied: "We in Bulgaria feel deeply for you Americans, and sympathize greatly with you for the troubles from which you are now suffering, for we, too, have been through them. In the past we, like you, were tormented by the scourge of brigandage. Look at this monastery; although it is a house of God, it had to be fortified and battlemented because at any time we might be attacked by bands of brigands, as you to-day are in Chicago and other American cities. But we have overcome the scourge, and our country is now free from brigandage. You, too, will overcome your gangsters if you have faith in God."

This story, which happens to be true, is typical of the attitude of the European mind towards American conditions. Gang warfare, brigandage and kidnapping seem to masses of Europeans the characteristic features of American life to-day. All those who are familiar with American conditions cannot fail to be struck by the contrast between the existence in every American city or community of large numbers of men and women of the highest character, of a society which is as cultivated and refined as any in the world, and the persistence and immunity of the criminal activities referred to above. The criminal instincts are certainly not more developed among the American people than among those of other lands, and the average American is as ashamed of the criminal record of many American cities and States and

as anxious to cleanse the community of the stain as a citizen of any country would be in similar circumstances.

It is interesting to examine the causes which have made political corruption, with its attendant tale of ordinary crime, possible in a country like the United States, where economic conditions are, or were, so favourable as to provide no attraction for it. The first is the composite character of the population. Political corruption is no new development. It came into existence as soon as the population tended to become more urban and industrial and less rural, and since the vast influx of foreign immigrants. The Constitution and the other political and administrative institutions had been conceived for a country with a comparatively small area, a people 95 per cent. of whom were rural, and the largest city of which had barely 30,000 inhabitants, where the great majority of the inhabitants were of Anglo-Saxon stock, the only important alien element being in a state of servitude, and where everyone knew everyone else. To-day these conditions are radically different, yet the bases of the institutions have remained practically unaltered.

The immigration of alien peoples on a large scale did not begin until the California gold rush in the middle of the last century, but since then it continued on an ever-increasing scale, until the recent immigration restriction measures. A very large proportion of the immigrants was composed of the most varied races, differing in every way from the original settlers and inspired by wholly different ideals. It is not that the new immigrants were more criminally inclined than the old settlers; indeed, statistics seem to prove that criminality is as high among descendants of the early settlers as among the alien elements. But the presence of vast masses of men of many races, only recently established in the country, who migrated to it not from any special affection for it or sympathy with its institutions, but simply because it offered greater opportunities for making

money, was not favourable to the formation of a healthy civic spirit. The Irish, who were the first to arrive in large numbers, brought with them a memory of old grievances, real or imaginary, a spirit of lawlessness, an intolerant bigotry and a genius for political intrigue and conspiracy. Many of the other aliens were by no means prone to acts of violence; indeed, some of them, such as the Scandinavians, came from the most law-abiding communities in the world. But the Irish had created an atmosphere of corruption which affected the whole population, because the best of the original settlers tended to leave politics more and more to the Irish, who had a greater relish for them and cared less for hard work. In the south, where the alien immigrants were few, the presence of the negroes, especially after their legal emancipation, created both directly and by indirect reaction on the whites a spirit of lawlessness and of approval of lawless acts.

Furthermore, the nomadic habits which the development of the West engendered and the ease with which men changed their place of residence according to business opportunities did not make for traditional affection towards any particular region or town. Immense numbers of men were practically encamped, and ready to move at a moment's notice to other parts of the country or back to Europe. During the present depression, as in other previous depressions, hundreds of thousands of European immigrants returned home when they lost their jobs.

The population tended to divide into a number of racial watertight compartments, each with its own ideas, habits and traditions, regardless of the general laws of the community. During the period of the growth of the West, in many ways the heroic age of the United States, there were yet other communities, the pioneers, who were pushing ever westward to the borders of civilization and beyond them and creating their own laws which were quite different from the written laws evolved by the more old-established Eastern States, but more suited to the

wild ways of the frontier. Thus there have grown up in all parts of the United States many groups who ignored the laws made by Congress in Washington, or by the various legislative bodies at Albany, Springfield, Baton Rouge or Sacramento. At the same time the large masses of foreigners who migrated to America in the hope of making money found themselves as soon as they arrived exploited by bosses, politicians and labour agents who knew the ropes and were able to " square " the powers that be; there was thus created in the alien masses a contempt for the law and the institutions of the country which provided a favourable atmosphere for criminality.

A second factor which made for lawlessness and political corruption is that during the period of rapid economic development all the best brains in the country were concentrated on business or the professions. Those who succeeded in these walks of life became the leading and most respected citizens, whereas only men of the second or third class went into politics or the public service. This was, of course, not the case in the early days of the Republic when national and even local politics attracted the most eminent men, but only since the great industrial expansion. As politics came to be more and more the arena for the less desirable citizens, the best men withdrew more and more from such contacts and shrank from exposing themselves to the campaigns of libellous abuse, even concerning their private lives, to which candidates for office are subject and against which there is no redress. The charming, intelligent, high-minded people with whom one associates all over the United States appear to have no part in the public life of the country. Even apart from the seamier side of politics, there is little dignity in public life, except in the case of the Presidency, the Supreme Court and the diplomatic service, and it confers no social standing, as is the case in most countries of the Old World, to attract the best types of men.

We thus see that the spirit of lawlessness and political

corruption, which we are now apt to associate with prohibition, existed long before prohibition existed. We find it in the pioneering days, especially in California, where the Vigilantes movement, itself illegal, arose as a reaction to the prevailing criminality and for a time defeated it, in New York where the gangs acquired unenviable notoriety in the 'fifties and the 'sixties, in the South during the reconstruction period at the time of the Ku-Klux-Klan (not to be confused with its recent revival), in Kentucky and other mountainous areas under the form of family feuds, in many cities East and West, in the outbreaks of lynching which were originally attempts to correct the shortcomings of the law and the defective organization of justice, in the cases of peonage or forced labour almost equivalent to a revival of slavery.

In recent years there have been certain manifestations of lawlessness which have attracted the attention of world public opinion on account of their sensational features. But even these occurrences have their origin in the defects of the laws and institutions which made them possible. We have heard a great deal about prohibition and its attendant evils during the last few years and of the appalling numbers of crimes which it has engendered without really prohibiting the manufacture, sale and consumption of intoxicants. Until about a year ago, although the majority of Americans deplored the existence of the 18th Amendment to the Constitution (establishing prohibition), we were told that repeal was out of the question because the procedure was so complicated and slow as to make it practically impossible. But during the last twelve months there has been such a landslide against prohibition that, in spite of its vigorous defence by the bootleggers and the churches in a strange and unholy alliance, the demand for repeal proved irresistible. In the recent election campaign, with all the very serious problems raised by the world depression and the complicated international situation, the public was more interested in the statements of the presidential

candidates on prohibition than in anything else. The reason was obvious, for the abolition of prohibition was the first necessary step, although by no means sufficient in itself, to eliminate or at least reduce the crime-wave now sweeping over the country. Mr. Roosevelt declared definitely in favour of repeal, whereas Mr. Hoover was less explicit, but expressed his intention of referring the matter to the States; this would have meant practical repeal, as the dry States would never have been able to keep the liquor from flowing in from the wet ones. Now that Mr. Roosevelt has been elected we may take it that prohibition is dead, even though it may require some time before the obnoxious law is removed from the statute book.

It remains to be seen whether it will be possible to break the power of the highly organized criminal underworld which had battened on prohibition. This organization arose in consequence of the enormous profits which could be made out of the liquor business, and also, but not exclusively, because it was illicit and the persons engaged in it were liable to penalties and therefore generally drawn from the most desperate and criminal elements. Once it becomes legitimate, will the criminal classes loosen their hold over it? We must bear in mind that criminal "rackets," or the levying of tribute on business, is by no means limited to drink, sexual vice and gambling; we find the system applied also to the milk trade, millinery, labour contracts, etc., although of course there are far greater opportunities for graft, blackmail and other forms of crime in the illegitimate than in the legitimate businesses.

A racket of a peculiar kind, engendered or at least encouraged by legally enacted measures, was that of the "B.E.F." (Bonus Expeditionary Force) and its "March on Washington" last summer. The United States have always paid their soldiers more generously than any other country, and in the World War every soldier received $30 a month, or $33 if he served overseas, independently of whether he was in the fighting line or not. In addition,

the Government took over the life insurance of the whole Army, ear-marking a sum of $40,000,000,000 for the purpose. At the end of the war every soldier was given a discharge bonus of $60 to pay for his civilian outfit. But the American Legion soon took the lead in a campaign to secure what was euphemistically called "adjusted compensation," which was to have taken the form of old-age insurance. By successful lobbying and by bringing the pressure of the "soldier's vote" to bear on Congressmen, it secured for the veterans the right of borrowing 50 per cent. of this compensation, and 2,000,000 men took advantage of it, at the cost to the tax-payer of $800,000,000 in all.

The Legion next agitated to get the loan treated as a gift or secure the immediate payment of the other half of the insurance money. Had it succeeded the Government would have had to pay out another $2,000,000,000, at a time when the budget showed a serious deficit. As both the President and the Senate opposed the demand (the House of Representatives had voted the required bill), the amazing "March on Washington" of some 20,000 unemployed ex-service men was staged. It must not be forgotten that the great majority of the members of the Legion had not been in action at all and that a very large proportion of them had never even been to France, and had merely spent a few months in training camps perhaps not a hundred miles from their homes. The "B.E.F." failed to achieve its end, and was dispersed by force, not without loss of life. It was ascertained that Communists were partly responsible for its organization in the hope of promoting serious riots, and that among the "force" were many men with criminal records.

Up to the present the bonus has cost the country $1,247,000,000, and even if no further concessions are made $3,638,000,000 in all will have to be paid out to the veterans. To this must be added the very large sums paid for pensions and medical assistance, the latter even for illnesses not remotely connected with military service

or the war, and General Hines, the able and conscientious head of the Veterans' Administration, estimates that by 1950 the total sum expended on all counts will be $21,850,000,000, equal to the whole cost of the war to the United States. Similar rackets had occurred in connection with previous wars, and to-day 48,000 Civil War pensions are still being paid, in addition to those of 167,000 Civil War widows, 630 Mexican War widows and 10 of the war of 1812.

Thus we see how the absolutely illegal action of the "Bonus Marchers" was encouraged by the ease with which wholly undeserved benefits could be legally secured, provided that enough lobbying and electioneering pressure could be brought into action. In many other aspects of American life we likewise find the law allowing acts which the average honest American citizen regards as reprehensible. A recently published volume entitled "The Washington Swindle-Sheet," shows how Senators are allowed by law to draw "mileage," i.e. travelling expenses for their journeys between the Capital and their homes, amounting to exactly four times what the journey costs them; in some cases they are able to draw mileage even if they do not perform the journey. Not content with this, Senate committees are constantly being sent on long joy-rides, carried out in the most luxurious and expensive manner, to investigate such momentous matters as the preservation of wild life and natural beauty, preferably in the Rocky Mountains during the summer and in the milder climate of Florida during the rigid winter months, all, of course, at the taxpayers' expense. Senators, we are told, are also entitled to allowances for the salaries of several secretaries each, and nothing in the law prevents them from conferring those salaries on members of their own families performing no secretarial functions and perhaps residing at places hundreds of miles from the Capital in order to attend to the Senators' private business. Many Senators avail themselves of this privilege.

In other cases, where the law does regard certain actions as offences, complicated procedure and custom furnishes innumerable ways for evading its provisions. In the matter of prohibition, to return for a moment to that subject, we have a third factor making for lawlessness, viz., that actions legally treated as crimes, are regarded by the vast majority of the population as innocent and even commendable. Thus the law itself, by encouraging disregard of one particular set of legally enacted measures, ends by encouraging disregard of the law in general.

Nor should we forget that it is not only the defects of the laws which make for lawlessness, but also, to a greater extent, the inadequate machinery for enforcing the law and applying the common rules of justice. Another recent American book, "The Insolence of Office," by William and John Northrop, gives a detailed and astonishing picture of the corruption of the city government of New York. That government and its innumerable administrative and judicial offices are under the control of Tammany Hall, the Democratic Party machine and one of the most corrupt organizations in the world. The officials appointed by it or elected under its auspices appear to have secured their offices solely as rewards for political services and to carry out their duties solely with a view to enriching themselves and their friends. Similar corruption exists in other departments and in other States and cities, and the evil extends from the highest officials to the ordinary policemen, while all around it is created a network of "shyster" lawyers, bogus lawyers, bondsmen who provide bail for arrested persons, taking of course heavy commissions for themselves, "fixers," etc. A peculiar figure whose activities are described by Messrs. Northrop is the "stool-pigeon," a sort of *agent provocateur* who, among other things, visits women, often perfectly honest, in order to get them arrested as prostitutes by a policeman who casually drops in, and then secures a fee for having them set free, as the consequences of refusal to submit to this blackmail are very unpleasant.

The origin of these "rackets" and of various other similar ones are derived, as we have seen, from the laws and customs which encourage men to make demands to which they are not morally entitled, and to the system of lobbying whereby almost anything may be secured from Congress provided enough electioneering and voting pressure be brought to bear on its members. The further degeneration of the system into ordinary crime, such as has occurred in the case of prohibition, the general disregard for the law and the widespread immunity enjoyed by criminals, is the result of the alliance between politics and justice, and the fact that in most States the judges, public prosecutors, chiefs of police and other public officials are either directly elected or appointed by governors and mayors who are themselves elected, and that the nomination of candidates for election and the appointments to places which are not elective are treated as rewards for political services, as we have seen in the case of Tammany. As the criminal underworld controls masses of votes, the politician cannot afford to disregard it, and the men elected and who hope for re-election cannot be too hard on its members.

As Judge Seabury said in concluding his report on the Magistrates' Court in New York, "there can be no remedy for these conditions (the innumerable cases of corruption which he had investigated) unless the Court can be entirely freed from political control." In his inquiry he showed up the system of Tammany Hall, which he found to be, as the Northrops write, revolting and repulsive, and, although himself a Democrat, he opposed it systematically.

What, then, is the attitude of the political parties and of public opinion generally towards these problems? During the election campaign the chief contribution has been the condemnation of prohibition. Public opinion would go much further, for it realizes that it is the system which is at fault rather than particular measures or individuals. There have been in the history of the country frequent periodical outbursts of

civic zeal when corruption and incompetence in a particular city or State reach an intolerable degree; the worst abuses have been corrected and those responsible for them swept out of office. Certain cities, such as Cincinnati, are now honestly and capably administered. But as long as the general system operates there is always the danger that corruption will return, as has, indeed, often been the case after a thorough local clean-up. It has been noticed that the most successful of these movements are always those which have been conducted independently of party lines, for once the party machine is involved reform is hopeless. The investigations of the Wickersham commission last year into the general lawlessness of the country and the more recent investigations of the Seabury commission into the irregularities of the New York City administration have both been so conducted. In the case of the Seabury investigation, Governor Roosevelt, who ordered it, Judge Seabury who conducted it, and Mayor James Walker, who was the chief object of its investigations, are Democrats. The facts which have come to light are, indeed, astonishing, but in any country in the world it would be easy to find people ready to commit dishonest actions if the institutions and political organization were so conceived as to ensure immunity for the unworthy and to keep the worthy out of politics.

There is also the necessity, as all thinking Americans recognize, of educating public opinion to take a more serious view of the incompetence and corruption in public life, and not merely regard it as amusing. Often one hears the most corrupt officials or politicians excused because they are "good fellows," kind-hearted and generous, as they often are, with the money of the public. Their antics are good copy for the press and supply good stories for club smoking rooms. Of the mayor of one of the greatest American cities who, although notoriously corrupt, continues to be regularly re-elected time after time, the usual remark is: "He is always the same Tim O'Brien (that of course is not his real name);

only now it is 10 per cent. instead of 5 per cent.," the allusion being to the commissions he pocketed on all city contracts and which had doubled in recent years. As long as this spirit persists it will be impossible to break the grip of Tammany and of similar organizations elsewhere. Although Mayor Walker was driven from office by the amazing scandals brought to light by the Seabury Inquiry, another Tammany man has been elected by a large majority in his place.

The healthiest movement now on foot seems to be the National Economy League, which has been joined by large numbers of men, the most respected citizens, regardless of party, especially among the younger men. At present it is concentrating on the bonus scandals and combating the new attempt of the Legion to secure further concessions, but its programme extends to all forms of political corruption and extravagant spending of the public funds. There is also a growing conviction that some limitation must be placed on the present orgy of so-called democracy and that the system of electing the judges and other officials is open to serious drawbacks, especially as the average citizen has no real freedom ot choice in these elections, but must vote for one of two candidates whom he knows nothing about, or knows nothing that is good, nominated by the two party machines. In any case it is not enough to clear the courts of political control. That politics must be removed from the appointment of officials and judges is the view of the best informed public opinion in America. In the Federal civil service the number of appointments which can be secured by competitive examination only is increasing, but it is not considered large enough, and the system is not usually applied in the case of State and city officials.

There are, of course, many popular demands for reform which are not carefully thought out, but are the result of theoretic radicalism and loose thinking, inspired by particular events. We hear much of the iniquities of " big business " and of the bankers—there is, indeed,

a general outcry against all financiers, who are regarded as chiefly responsible for the depression. We also hear about "reaction" and "militarism," the wickedness of the capitalist system and the merits of Socialism and even Bolshevism. That a good deal of the financing of the business of the country is unsound and that the banking system is defective no one denies, but even if the demands of the demagogues were granted there would be little improvement; corruption and inefficiency, as we all know, flourish under Socialism as much as under Capitalism, or even more so. On the other hand, one also hears invocations in favour of a dictatorship to put an end to the present discontents; but dictatorships are only possible when there is a man capable of filling the part, and to-day there does not appear any name to conjure with in the United States.

The overwhelming turnover of votes at the recent Presidential election is less due to a landslide in favour of the Democratic party or of Franklin Roosevelt than to an ever increasing hostility to Herbert Hoover. The depression of course reacted unfavourably on the Republican party because it happened to be in power at the time, and although President Hoover cannot be blamed for it, he had made the fatal mistake during the 1928 election campaign of promising unbounded and eternal prosperity if he were returned. His optimism was indeed shared by millions of Americans and non-Americans at that time, but the measures which he enacted when the depression came failed to fulfil expectations and have been severely criticized, notably the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. The great increase in the number of crimes committed and the immunity which the great majority of the criminals enjoy also contributed to the unpopularity of the Hoover régime, although here again it is not the President who is chiefly to blame, as large-scale criminality and the immunity of criminals existed long before he was elected and will probably long survive his defeat.

There is, however, in large classes of the population

an instinctive feeling, right or wrong, that Mr. Roosevelt is less tarred with the politician's brush than Mr. Hoover or indeed most of the other prominent figures in American political life, and less likely to submit to the impositions of the party machine. The fact that, although he is a Democrat, he insisted, as Governor of New York, on the inquiry into the iniquities of the Tammany administration in New York City, greatly contributed to his popularity among large classes throughout the country. His name, too, proved an asset. Although he is only very distantly related to the late Theodore Roosevelt, the mere fact that he bore the same name as the one man who in recent American history really appealed to the imagination of the people as upright, honest, patriotic and endowed with forceful driving power, undoubtedly contributed to his success. During the election campaign a committee comprising Republicans as well as Democrats was formed to support him, and a member of it, Mr. Washburn Child, declared: "We need another Roosevelt at the White House."

But, as I said before, it is not likely that any one man can cleanse the administration and the judicial system of the country, which is necessary if lawlessness is to be ended. The method of the selection for officials and judges must be radically altered and the best class of citizens drawn into public life, even though this implies the violation of some of the so-called "immortal principles" of Democracy.

Given, however, the large number of competent and high-minded men who are to be found in the country, it should be possible to create some organization capable of breaking through the ring of political corruption and inefficiency and its attendant sequel of lawlessness and unpunished crime. It will be no easy task, and will require a long time. Perhaps complete success will only be achieved when the population is really welded into a homogeneous national unit, even though it be made up of many races, each contributing some element to the whole.

Leaves from an Eastern Notebook

By "Nomad"

THE FLAG

SIR GRANVILLE BOWER, M.P., was an excellent shot and a very good fellow, who generally avoided the error, in his ordinary existence, of thinking that he was addressing the House.

On the present occasion, however, there was, perhaps, some excuse for a lapse from grace, for he had shot consistently well throughout a cold and windy day and had, moreover, just finished a second glass of his host's 1904 Croft.

And so it happened that before they had fully realized it, the six men sitting round the table found themselves discussing democracy.

Between them, they covered many phases of life, though only Colonel Evans, a thin, quiet man home on leave from the Indian Political Service, had, besides Bower, any political connections.

The conversation grew animated as, one after another, the party ventilated their opinions, until their host, Arthur Rendall, one of that most loyal and long-suffering class, the big landowner, turned towards Evans, who had been listening in silence.

"What do you think about it all, Colonel?" he asked; "You must feel like a stranger in a strange land."

Evans laughed. "Well," he answered, as he knocked the ash from his cigar, "I haven't spent much time in England for the last twenty years or so and I don't suppose I'm really qualified to express an opinion."

"Still," put in Bower, "you must have got some impressions, even since you came home?"

"Yes, one can hardly avoid that, but I have so much to do with politics elsewhere that I rather try to give them a miss when I'm on leave."

"Your sort must be very different to ours, though,"

said Newcombe, a rising barrister, "and far more interesting."

"Yes, I suppose they are, on the whole, but there are differences of conditions and outlook that seem to grow more marked as time goes on."

"Such as ——?" asked Rendall.

"Well, it's not easy to explain. Someone remarked just now how many of the benefits—free education and so on—were taken for granted, as a right, by the masses, though most of them are paid for by others who are often, relatively speaking, worse off."

"Yes, I said that," put in Newcombe, "but I said it was much better in the country than in towns."

"Exactly," said Evans, "all those sort of feelings are—appreciation, faith, everything. Then if you go out of England altogether, you find such feelings still more strongly marked in distant communities."

"You think, in fact," said Bower, "that the farther you get from civilization, the better?"

"In some ways, yes," replied Evans. "Of course, I don't mean as regards climate or comforts and many other obvious things, but I have certainly found that in the—shall I say—less sophisticated parts of the world England still stands where she used to and you still find respect for her, which is not always the case nearer home or in places where what we call democracy has been tried too soon."

There was a silence and Rendall looked at his watch.

"By Jove!" he said, "I'd no idea we had sat here so long. Let's go into the drawing-room."

* * * * *

Away in the East, the first narrow rim of the sun, rising into a sky already bright with pale blue and gold, heralded the dawn of another day during which the temperature would certainly reach 115° in the shade.

Down the fairway, between shores of baked mud and barren rock, H.M. sloop *Dandelion* came slowly to her anchorage off the island of Farkha Mirab'ba.

The awnings above the deck sagged beneath their load of moisture until Seedee-boys pushed them up with mops to let it pour off over the side, for blazing heat by day and incredibly heavy dew by night formed a climatic combination which was not the least of the drawbacks to the station on which the *Dandelion* was serving.

The British public, even when fresh from the newly-acquired knowledge of a "Navy Week," have only a vague idea that some of the Navy is somewhere abroad, doing they know not what, and it can scarcely be surprising, therefore, if the existence of such vessels as sloops, and still more their whereabouts, remain a sealed book.

It would, indeed, be difficult to define or describe the duties of sloops, performed, as they mostly are, in the remoter corners of the world, a mixture of patrols and politics, varied by occasional activities of a more warlike character, largely isolated and with no chance of avoiding even the worst seasons of the pestilential climates in which so much of their work is done.

The arrival of the *Dandelion* at Farkha Mirab'ba was not an event of great importance. Even by the ship's company the visit could not be so regarded, for the coal dump which existed on the island had made it a very frequent port of call during the two years that the *Dandelion* had been in Eastern waters.

The island, however, was not entirely devoid of strategic importance, on account of its telegraph station, in addition to the coal dump, while it occupied a central position from which it was convenient to keep a guiding hand on the reviving nationalism of one mainland and a restraining influence over the somewhat wild inhabitants of the other.

The position at Farkha Mirab'ba was curious and called for much of that diplomacy which has to be exercised by sailors and soldiers in so many parts of the world.

Before the irresistible magnet of the great war had

drawn into its throes the comparatively unruffled lands of the Middle East, the island had been completely ignored by the country of which it formed a nominal part. At one end a few hundred Arabs lived in a fishing village surrounded by a straggling belt of meagre date palms, but the rest of its surface had remained a natural desert until the British Navy had established a coal dump and coolie lines, with a bungalow for the Bo'sun in charge of the settlement.

No objection had ever been raised by the Government concerned which, owing to the inability of its own Navy to go to sea, was dependent upon the British sloops for the suppression of piracy, although this advantage was to some extent discounted by the ridiculous views held by them on such subjects as slavery and gun-running, both of which, when ably conducted, are extremely paying industries.

But the great war, with its subsequent cult of "self-determination," had aroused in political circles an acute form of nationalism, and claims were being put forward to all kinds of territory concerning which there had previously existed complete indifference.

The outward and visible sign of these activities usually took the form of establishing a Customs house, accompanied by a profuse display of uniformed officials and the national flag.

And so one end of Farkha Mirab'ba was in the hands of Arabs whom the nominal rulers deemed it wiser not to molest, while at the other flew the Union Jack over the coal dump and telegraph station and the flag of the country over the Customs house.

* * * * *

Mr. Brown, the Bo'sun in charge of the dump, had occupied his isolated position for nearly three years and had displayed great tact and ability in handling the difficult international problems which sometimes called for immediate settlement.

The *Dandelion* had scarcely finished swinging to her

cable before he had put off from the tiny jetty and come on board to give the latest news to her commander.

It did not vary much and consisted mainly of the latest iniquities of the local officials and the difficulties he had been called upon to adjust between them and the masters of the British cargo steamers which occasionally called.

Commander Radcliffe, of the *Dandelion*, had listened to Brown's recital and complimented him upon his tact and discretion, when the Bo'sun showed some signs of hesitation.

"There's one other thing, sir," he said, "I hardly knew what to do about it. Never had a case like it before, all the time I've been here."

"Why, what's the matter?" asked Radcliffe.

"Well, sir, a couple of nights ago, Mr. Fernandez came over to my bungalow from the telegraph station and said there was a man down at the office who wouldn't go away. Seemed to be a stranger like and they couldn't make out what he wanted."

"Well," said Radcliffe, "what happened?"

"Well, sir, I went down with my 'boy,' who is pretty good for an Indian at both English and Arabic, and it seems that this man is a slave."

"Slave?" echoed Radcliffe, "Whose slave?"

"We couldn't quite make out, sir, but he seems to have done a bunk from somewhere on the mainland and come to us for safety—sanctuary, like."

"Do you mean this mainland?" asked Radcliffe, "because, if so, we may have trouble with the local officials."

"No, sir," answered Brown, "he seems to have got away from Arabia in a *mahaila*."

"Then he's probably escaped from one of the *sheikhs* on the Trucial Coast, but in any case he's not in British territory now, so it's not our funeral. Where is he?"

"Well, sir, he didn't seem keen on going anywhere away from our people—wouldn't leave our place, in

fact—so I've got him down in the coolie lines. I thought that was the best thing to do until I could report to you, sir. I knew the *Dandelion* was due in to-day."

Radcliffe remained silent for a few moments. "Yes," he said at last, "I suppose you couldn't do anything else. Fortunately the *Berenice* will be here this evening. There's been some trouble with the local governor at Khor Du and the S.N.O. is going there. He's got Colonel Evans, the 'Political,' on board, so we can refer the matter to him."

* * * * *

Late that afternoon the *Berenice* dropped anchor not far from the *Dandelion* and Radcliffe went on board. She had begun life as an ocean-going yacht and, like many other craft of her type, had been taken over by the Admiralty for special service during the war. Since then she had remained on her present station and was virtually a floating office for the Senior Naval Officer and a convenient conference-room for the many political questions in which the Navy was perforce concerned.

True, she carried certain small guns, but if these were fired more than one at a time, it was only with acute discomfort to all on board, and her main asset lay in the fact that she had two tall funnels, whereas each sloop had only a single short one, and as the natives of that part of the world were somewhat unsophisticated in their methods of assessing sea-power, it seldom became necessary for the *Berenice* to exercise her lethal weapons beyond periodical practice.

The S.N.O. soon put Radcliffe in possession of the facts relating to Khor Du, and the two officers exchanged such other news and information as had come to them since the ships had last met nearly a month previously.

Colonel Evans, who was a passenger in the *Berenice en route* to Khor Du, listened to the conversation and asked an occasional question, for the constant patrol work of the sloops makes them valuable intelligence agents.

At length Radcliffe took the opportunity of recounting to his listeners the story of Brown and his slave.

"Well," said the S.N.O., "we can look into that straight away. We were going ashore for a walk before dinner in any case, so we could see this fellow then. Perhaps you would question him, Colonel?"

"Yes, certainly," replied Evans, "It might be very interesting."

Twenty minutes later, the three men, all in *mufti*, stepped ashore from the *Dandelion's* launch.

* * * * *

There was still half an hour or so before sunset as the party, reinforced by Brown, sat in long chairs in the verandah of the latter's bungalow while Evans carried on a conversation with the slave, who had been brought up from the coolie lines.

The others, whose Arabic was limited, could only catch words here and there among the torrent that poured from the man's lips, and Evans's share consisted mainly of an occasional question.

At last there came a pause.

"What does he say?" asked the S.N.O.

"He is a Zanzibari," answered Evans; "he has been a slave for thirty-two years. His mother was sold and he was taken with her as a child. He is now one of the Sheikh of Jibai's men. He has been in his service for fifteen years and wants to get back to Zanzibar. He managed to get a friendly fisherman to hide him in a *mahaila* and escaped. He landed near the Arab village at the opposite end of this island and then made his way here on foot."

"But what does he expect us to do?" asked the S.N.O. "This isn't British territory, and even if it were, we can't help people to escape from the Trucial Coast. We don't know the facts of the case and, after all, our ships can't make a profession of *bast*."*

* Sanctuary.

"No," said Evans, "it *is* difficult and in the ordinary run of things I should agree with you. As you know, slavery in this part of the world doesn't necessarily mean cruelty, but knowing the Sheikh of Jibai, I don't fancy this fellow would have much of a time if he went back and it might lead to trouble over the fisherman in the village here who helped him to escape."

"Wouldn't that be the case if he stayed here?" asked Radcliffe.

"No use his staying here, sir," put in Brown; "That Governor of theirs would have him as a slave of his own inside twenty-four hours—pinch anything, he would."

During this conversation the Zanzibari remained squatting on his haunches, his dark eyes moving from one speaker to another, as though he realized that his fate was hanging in the balance.

Evans turned to him again.

"But why did you come to us?" he asked, "You know whose territory this is—there is their flag—and slavery has been abolished by decree."

The slave rose to his feet, gathering round him his tattered garments, and flung out his right hand towards Evans.

"*Sahib*," he said, "thou hast been among us for many years, for in truth thou speakest our language like one of us. Dost thou believe that slavery is no more? Dost thou not know that every year there are hundreds of slaves sent to Arabia from yonder coast alone, in spite of all that the British ships can do? Dost thou not know, *sahib*, in thy heart, that had I gone to these sons of dogs I should again have become a slave?" He spat on the ground. "But, *sahib*, I saw your flag"—he swung round and pointed to the Union Jack fluttering above the coal dump—"and I knew that if only I could reach that, I should be safe."

The Zanzibari ceased as abruptly as he had begun and, sinking once more on to his heels, sat silently watching the effect of his words.

* * * * *

The Zanzibari had spoken so simply and with such obvious absence of theatrical intention that Evans, despite his unmoved exterior, felt that there were occasions when one was proud of being an Englishman—a feeling which was perhaps reflected in the minds of the others, to whom he had translated the gist of the Zanzibari's outburst.

The four men met again at dinner in the S.N.O.'s quarters in the *Berenice*, for Brown was always a welcome guest on board visiting ships, and with the coffee the conversation reverted to the subject of the slave.

"What on earth are we to do with him?" asked the S.N.O., addressing the party generally. "If we help him to escape, there will be trouble with the Sheikh of Jibai if he gets wind of it, and if he stays at Farkha Mirab'ba there may be trouble with the local officials. In either case, if it goes any farther, some of us may find ourselves strong candidates for a bowler hat."

"Seems to me, sir," said Brown, after a pause, "we might do something with him when the *Caspian* comes in. She's due here with coal on Thursday and I've got about 70 coolies coming over from the mainland to help discharge her. I think I could keep this man hidden till then and get him away with the coolies when they go."

"But they go back to the mainland," objected Radcliffe, "so he wouldn't be any better off than he is now—worse, in fact."

"Wait a minute," said Evans, who had been smoking in silence; "I think we can do something on the lines Mr. Brown suggests. If he can keep him safely hidden until the *Caspian* arrives—that's only two days—and then get him out to her on one of the lighters with the other coolies, we may be able to get him away in a *dhow*. It's no use trying to arrange for one here—too dangerous—but a great many ocean-going *dhows* call at Khor Du. I think we might fix things up there and send your

interpreter down on board one, to arrive when the *Caspian* is here. Radcliffe and Mr. Brown must do the rest. I suppose the *Dandelion* can stay here till then?"

"Rather!" answered the S.N.O. "Now we'd better have Ismail in and tell him what's on. The fewer people in the know the better."

In a few minutes the interpreter in his red *fez* stood before them.

"Now then, Ismail," said the S.N.O., "you're a scoundrel, aren't you?"

The man showed his white teeth in a broad grin, for he knew the S.N.O. of old.

"No, no, sar," he replied. "I verree honest man, sar."

"Well, I don't know about that," said the S.N.O., "but anyhow I've got a job for you now."

The plan quickly took shape and half an hour later the members of the party dispersed to their respective homes.

* * * * *

A drifting cloud of coal-dust enveloped the *Caspian* and all her crew, as the derricks, creaking and rattling, swung backwards and forwards between hold and lighter.

Down below, Arabs and Mekranis shovelled in unbelievable surroundings, the sweat pouring down their naked bodies, while over the hatchway stood the First Mate, swearing in mixed tongues and longing for asbestos shoes against the red-hot iron deck.

Alongside, to starboard, lay the grimy lighters, covered with shouting, gesticulating humanity, while a black and filthy steam launch towed them to and from the coal dump ashore.

And as the brief dusk came, a *dhow* slid silently, like some grey shadow, along the empty port side of the *Caspian*.

A rope ladder went over and down it swarmed the Zanzibari, his rôle of coaling coolie ended and his way to freedom open. As if in exchange, the figure of Ismail

ascended and, within a few moments, was in the launch *en route* to the *Dandelion*.

* * * * *

Three months later, the wheel of fate took Evans to Cairo, where he arrived in time to hear it suggested by a Very Important Person that the General Officer Commanding the British troops in Egypt should cease to fly a miniature Union Jack on the bonnet of his car, as it might wound the susceptibilities of the Egyptian Nationalists.

But on that occasion he did not feel proud.

Joffre—The Delphic Oracle to the End

By Captain Liddell Hart

IN point of time Joffre stands first among the famous leaders of the war, yet he has been almost the last in allowing the world to know his impressions and reflections. Although he outlived most of his compeers it is only now that his memoirs appear. He has profited by the delay. For it enabled him to wait until all his critics had shown their hand and then, having kept his own concealed, to make his own trumps. His answer is most ably framed, so ably that we may wonder by whom. The publishers tell us that " every page of the original French MS." bears his initials, a remark that would suggest that it was prepared for him. The genuine authors that I know, as distinct from those who have a ghost, do not usually initial the pages of their own manuscript !

As an answer this production, however, is all the more effective because it has not the form of an answer, but of an impartial explanation of the ideas that lay behind his much debated actions.

Certainly few who ever saw that solid and stolid figure, so slow in expression and sparing of words, so obviously chewing the cud, would imagine that the impassive countenance marked a brain so quick in comprehension of entangled issues and so profoundly penetrating as is revealed in these memoirs. Thus it will not be surprising if some jump to the conclusion that Joffre had able assistance in preparing his memoirs. More, too, may think that the explanation of events has been adapted to later knowledge of those events.

As a student of history I shall never forget the lesson that I learnt in studying the records of the American Civil War. An analysis of the actual orders, messages, and movements of the two sides formed a picture radically different to that painted in the reports rendered

by the commanders a few days or weeks later. The conclusions reached by the commanders in subsequent reflection on their own action seemed to have so little relation to the facts. If this be true of despatches so soon after the event, how much more likely with memoirs that have been eighteen years maturing! Yet, even if this be the case, it requires a masterly hand to present it so convincingly.

One might say that Joffre's memoirs have been written like his retreat in 1914 was conducted. They repeatedly concede untenable positions that have been maintained by his partisans in the past, and take up fresh lines that will be more difficult to shake. As a result they confess things that will be a surprise to many, and confirm things that have only been surmised by a few.

They contain several disclosures of political significance. In a secret conference with ministers on February 21, 1912, Joffre urged the advantage of a plan that would leave him free

> " to push our armies into Belgian territory, and do it without waiting until such time as the Germans had themselves violated Belgium, as it was probable that they would do. I added that it might perhaps be possible to suggest through diplomatic channels to the British Government the solution that appeared to us to be the most advantageous."

M. Millerand and M. Delcassé supported his views. " But the Prime Minister, M. Poincaré, pointed out that an invasion of Belgium by France would run the risk of setting against us not only Europe but the Belgians themselves. . . ." Above all, it would imperil the consecration of the military agreements with Britain. Of this they had been warned first by Colonel Repington and then by Lord Esher. Nevertheless, M. Poincaré went so far as to concede that a French transgression of the Belgian frontier might be contemplated if there was " a positive menace of German invasion."

However, in November 1912 a fresh warning from

General Wilson led Joffre "to renounce all idea of a manœuvre *à priori* through Belgium."

But in regard to Luxembourg Joffre had found that no such doubts were felt by the French Foreign Office "since Great Britain had not the same interest in the matter of Luxembourg's neutrality as she had in Belgium's."

In May 1912 "a rather curious matter" was submitted for consideration. It was an offer by the King of Spain to allow the French troops from North Africa to be moved through Spain by rail in case of war, and so avoid the risks of the long sea-crossing. But the French staff were not satisfied with the state of the Spanish railways and "the proposal was, therefore, abandoned."

There is also a political aspect in the evidence of the memoirs that Joffre, like so many soldiers, had a deep-rooted contempt for, and incurable suspicion of, all politicians. Such a prejudice does not help the efficient working of strategy with policy. Joffre gives special emphasis to a confidential communication in February 1916 from Major-General Sir John Davidson of Haig's staff that the British Army was prevented from doing its full share by "the politicians, who, after the Germans, are our worst enemies."

Joffre later remarks that while Haig "was not always in agreement with General Robertson, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, these two men were now brought together through their common antipathy to Lloyd George, whom Robertson facetiously called "Napoleon."

Joffre also has jibes at Churchill and Clemenceau. In answer to Churchill's claim that he delayed the fall of Antwerp by five days, Joffre ironically remarks: "Possibly he likewise delayed the departure of the Belgian Army, whose retreat to the Yser was thereby rendered the more difficult." But here King Albert has provided evidence to the contrary, showing that the Belgian Army went too soon rather than too late. And history strongly

suggests that even the consequently curtailed resistance of Antwerp was the vital factor in saving the Channel ports.

Moreover, Joffre reveals a curious inconsistency when he complains of the way his fellow-soldiers intrigued first to diminish his powers, then to step in his shoes, and confesses that he came "to look back with regret on the civilian Ministers with whom I had to deal in the critical hours of 1914 and during 1915." Here, Joffre's attitude towards politicians was obviously governed by their personal attitude towards him.

He had owed his rise to them. Partly because he was regarded as a safe Republican, with no suspicious political ambitions or religious convictions. But partly also, as he now reveals, because the "offensive" wave on which he was carried to power appealed to the politicians equally with the "Young Turks" of the General Staff who had never seen war.

After the Boer War some of "the most eminent soldiers of the period" advanced what Joffre terms "a whole series of false doctrines . . . to the detriment of the army's spirit, its confidence in its chiefs and in its regulations." The words have a familiar ring. For the "harm" of these doctrines was that they emphasized the dominance of fire and the hopelessness of frontal attacks. In modern ears these doctrines sound pure common sense. But not in Joffre's.

He still finds cause for congratulation in the fact that "under the inspiration of men like Foch . . . our young intellectual élite . . . returned to a more healthy conception of the general conditions prevailing in war." Most of us who fought in the last war would consider it a most unhealthy misconception.

Even Joffre admits they went too far and developed a "somewhat unreasoning passion for the offensive." But they gained power, unseated their military chief, put Joffre in his seat, changed the war-plan to an offensive basis, and thrust into the background the more

clear-sighted soldiers. For their ideas pleased the politicians. The President said " with what pleasure he had seen us give up our defensive projects, bearing as they did the implied avowal of inferiority . . . the offensive alone is suited to the temperament of our soldiers."

For the collapse of that offensive in 1914 Joffre offers a persuasively reasoned case. The leaders were not fit for it despite his efforts to develop their training. The weapons were not available to support it, despite his continued efforts to induce the Government to provide heavy field artillery. The fronts on which he could attack were too narrow, owing partly to the new German fortifications and the unsuitability of the French as a spring-board for the offensive.

There may well be justice in these contentions. But, if so, each of them strengthens the argument that he ought never to have adopted an offensive plan. He speaks of the " logical and sane doctrine of the offensive." Its premises in the actual conditions were obviously illogical.

He argues on one page that it was necessary to take the offensive because the Germans might be content to hold him in check while striking at the Russians. But on another page he says that he was certain they would attack him. Elsewhere he admits the great value of the French fortress system if used for defence. That value was forfeited by his offensive plan.

But to appreciate its inconsistencies, the book must be carefully studied. It has such a disarming frankness and plausibility that it will assuredly deceive anyone who is not profoundly steeped in the history of the war. Often I found myself asking : " Can this be the ponderous man, slow in reaction and impervious to fresh ideas, that so many Frenchmen have described? " Or, again : " Can a man of such apparent candour and generosity have had the jealous and suspicious nature that is ascribed to him." For his manner is as disarming as his matter.

I felt that I must revise my view. But then doubts would rise again. One noticed that he paid handsome tribute to his chief subordinates such as Galliéni, Castelnau, Pétain, Berthelot, Maunoury, Franchet d'Espercy, Lanrezac, and even Sarrail. Yet he has somehow contrived to leave the impression that they were each and all deficient somewhere, and thereby caused his own plans to go astray. Pétain, particularly, is censured for spoiling Joffre's 1916 offensive plans by demanding needless reinforcements for Verdun. But we are led to discount the censure to some extent when we remember that Pétain proved himself more in touch with the realities of the 1914–1918 battlefield than any other of the higher leaders, while Joffre himself throughout these memoirs gives the impression that he viewed the battle zone as a chessboard, without contemplating such inconvenient facts as machine-guns. But his omission of this material fact is on a par with his repeated omission of facts with a personal bearing that are known to historians.

Any Englishman must be gratified by the warm way in which he speaks of the loyal support given by our army. Yet, here again, he succeeds in conveying the impression that the repeated withdrawals of the British were mainly responsible for the prolongation of the retreat from the frontier, and, later, that the failure of his attempt to turn the German's flank in the " Race to the Sea," together with the loss of Lille, was due to the " precipitation with which the British Army got itself relieved from the Aisne front " for transfer to Flanders.

Further, his description of several of the battles of the British Army so essentially distorts the true outline that one inevitably wonders how far such errors are innate in the outwardly meticulous proportions of his records of the French.

The most characteristic example of his disarming method is perhaps to be found in the story to which most readers will turn—that of the Marne. Here he gives

away completely several positions that his advocates, such as Generals Maurice and Spears in this country, have stoutly maintained. He discloses that on August 30 he was compelled to abandon the project formed on August 25 of building up a new mass to envelop the German outer wing. Instead, he pinned his faith to a new design of breaking the German centre. But this plan in turn began to crumble, as the enemy pressure developed.

Joffre quite frankly discloses that his return to the original idea was only taken late on September 4, and that the plan was an opportunist improvisation. He also admits to Galliéni's telephone discussion with him—a vital fact which, relying on his authority, General Maurice disputed a few years back. After yielding these points, Joffre contrives to diminish Galliéni's influence by saying that his mind was made up a few minutes before the telephone call came through. He also conveys that the delay was largely due to the counter-arguments of General Berthelot.

But the analytical reader will note the admission that it was in contemplation " to delay the moment of decisive action for five or six days," and the fact that preparations were begun that very afternoon to move headquarters further to the rear. In an apologia, admissions have more historical significance than assertions. Especially in an apologia that so skilfully masks its real nature.

THE MEMOIRS OF MARSHAL JOFFRE. Translated by COL. T. BENTLEY MOTT. Appendices by LT.-COL. S. J. LOWE. 2 vols. [Geoffrey Bles. 18s. each vol.]

Foreign Affairs

By Sir Charles Petrie

THE League of Nations has certainly not enhanced its dignity, nor have the statesmen who compose its Council added to their reputations, by the discussion of the Lytton Report at Geneva. Owing to the fallacious assumption that all nations, whatever their size, have an equal right to make their voices heard on any subject, it was impossible to prevent the tabling of a vote of censure on Japan, which, had it been passed, would have had the most serious consequences, though not, of course, for those who moved it. Accordingly, the old procedure of the side-track, that is to say reference to an unwieldy committee, was adopted, and Geneva has sunk still lower in the eyes of the ordinary citizen.

If the League is ever to be an effective piece of diplomatic machinery, it will only be after the abandonment of the fiction that Greece and the Irish Free State have as much interest in the Far East as Great Britain and France. The basic difference between the Great Powers and the others is that the former have world-wide interests, while the latter have not. Until this fact is frankly admitted, we shall continue to hear the representatives of the Spanish Republic, which cannot ensure the safety of its own citizens a dozen miles from Madrid, denouncing the Japanese for upholding law and order in Manchuria. It is little wonder that a debate at Geneva sounds like a conversation in *Alice in Wonderland*.

The Far East

THE handling of the Sino-Japanese problem by the British Government has been unsatisfactory in the extreme in view of our extensive commitments in the Far East. Lord Hailsham openly boasted in the House of Lords that Sir John Simon was going to Geneva without any policy save that which the League might adopt, and as the latter clearly has no policy, the inference

is that the Government has none either. The consequence has been that we have alienated our old ally, Japan; we have encouraged China to continue a resistance which is quite hopeless; and we have helped to perpetuate the existing chaos in the Far East.

It is precisely the same blunder that was committed last century with regard to Russia. Canning kept on good terms with that Power, and was therefore able to exercise a restraining influence over her when the occasion arose. His successors reversed his policy, with the result that the Crimean War had to be fought; a second conflict nearly took place in the seventies; and the Russian menace steadily grew all the time. If the Japanese alliance had not been scrapped for the sake of currying favour with the United States, the present situation would not have arisen. Japan, quite naturally, will only hearken to the counsels of those she trusts, and, like an increasing number of their own fellow-countrymen, she does not trust Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and Sir John Simon.

The American Bogey

THE real reason for the weakness of British policy since the war is to be found in the subservience of the Foreign Office to Washington. To the shadow of friendship with the United States we have sacrificed the substance of the Japanese alliance, of the mastery of the seas, and of our prestige in Europe, which is now at its nadir. Critics of this policy of licking America's boots have been told that it was the only way of securing a modification of the debt settlement. In particular, it has been repeated *ad nauseam* that the questions of debts and disarmament were closely connected. Great Britain is now stripped to the skin where armaments are concerned, but she has not been excused a cent on account of it.

The friendship of the United States is obviously of

great importance to this country, but it is, like anything else worth having, more likely to be gained by taking a firm line than by giving way on every occasion. For example, several of the States of the Union owe British investors a large sum of money, but successive governments have refused to raise the matter for fear of wounding American susceptibilities. Indeed, there are times when it seems as if the Foreign Office is more careful of American than of British interests. We shall never have a foreign policy worth the name so long as the American bogey obsesses Whitehall.

The Solace of Reiteration

DO statesmen* keep on saying the same thing to convince themselves or in the hope of convincing others? I ask the question because in the latest agreement (*sic*) at Geneva the Great Powers have declared that they will not in any circumstances attempt to resolve the differences between them by force. Seeing that war was outlawed by the Kellogg Pact in 1928, not to mention the Covenant of the League of Nations, one would have thought that a further declaration of this sort was unnecessary. Perhaps, however, it comforts our rulers to have it down on paper, just as elderly spinsters are said to sleep more soundly for the presence of a man's hat in the hall. In the present instance it is to be noted that a rider has been added to the effect that it is " without prejudice to fuller discussions on the question of security," whatever that may mean.

Jugo-Slavia

THE shrill screams, reminiscent of those of a scalded cat, which are being emitted by the self-constituted champions of Jugo-Slavia in this country are further proof, if that were necessary, that the Karageorgevitch

* A statesman, i.e. a politician in office; just as a publicist is a journalist out of a job.

monarchy is in the throes of dissolution. It may hold together for some months, or even for a year, longer, but its fate is clearly sealed. It is one of the many post-war experiments that has not worked, and there is no particular reason why anyone, save its well-paid propagandists, should regret its disappearance. A monarchy based upon regicidal principles is too great an anomaly even for this most illogical of centuries.

What is important is the future of the lands that now own the Karageorgevitch sway. Serbia will doubtless maintain her independence, and the Croats and Montenegrins will regain theirs, but there are wide districts upon which neighbouring States have never ceased to cast covetous eyes. Albania, for example, desires to annex the old Sanjak of Novi Bazar, and it is, in this connection, a significant fact that King Zog is King of the Albanians, not of Albania. Hungary, too, wishes to recover what she lost by the Treaty of the Trianon. In short, a very pretty witch's cauldron is brewing to the east of the Adriatic.

A Problem for the Powers

IF matters are allowed to slide there are two probabilities. The first is that after a prolonged period of disorder Jugo-Slavia will split up into its component parts, and the difficulties of Central Europe will be accentuated by the appearance of a fresh crop of small States, all inspired by sentiments of the most extravagant nationalism. The second is that France and Italy may become involved in these rivalries, as were Russia and Austria in 1914, and if that happens all Europe will be in flames once more.

Surely this situation provides an opportunity for the four Great Powers, that is to say Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany, to agree upon a common course of action in advance. If they would unite in a decision to hold the ring when the Jugo-Slav monarchy falls, it would not, it is true, prevent disturbances in the districts

affected, but it would ensure that there was no repetition of the events of eighteen years ago. Furthermore, it would constitute an excellent precedent for the treatment of other European problems.

The Only Solution

PROBABLY the most satisfactory solution to the problem of the Danubian States will be found to be the recreation of the Habsburg monarchy, which was sacrificed to please President Wilson. Hungary was an economic unit, and every attempt to replace it has so far failed. Let the Four Powers restore the Archduke Otto to his throne at Budapest, where the overwhelming majority of Hungarians long to see him. Is there any other solution, whether the problem be regarded from the political, economic, or ethical standpoint?

Whatever the personal views of Mr. MacDonald may be, Great Britain is a monarchical Power, and we should give the monarchical forces throughout the world the assurance of our moral support. We have toyed with revolution long enough, and the consequences have been disastrous, both at home and abroad. The restoration of the Habsburgs would at once prove the sincerity of our monarchist sentiments, and solve a problem that may otherwise result in war and revolution on a very wide scale. After all, if nations are to be allowed any voice in the way they are governed, they have a right to decide in favour of monarchy as well as of republicanism. The return of the Archduke Otto is not a question of sentiment but one of practical politics.

The F.O. and the Vatican

WHY does the Foreign Office, under successive Secretaries of State, persist in treating the Pope worse than it does the Bolshevists? We have an ambassador in Moscow and there is a Soviet ambassador in London, but several years have elapsed since there was a British minister to the Holy See.

The reason given for the failure to appoint a successor to the last occupant of the office was the tension then existing between Church and State in Malta, but that is now a thing of the past, and the present situation is quite illogical. If, as a Protestant nation, we cannot have any dealings with the Scarlet Woman at all, then even the *chargé d'affaires* should be withdrawn; but if we believe that the Roman Church is still a force in the world, then His Majesty should be properly represented. What is certain is that the existing position is at once insulting to the Pope and humiliating to Great Britain.

The Pope has not decorated the gardens of the Vatican with offensive caricatures of our public men, nor has the *Osservatore Romano* published lies about the methods of the Foreign Office. In these circumstances one would have thought that, other considerations apart, the Holy See was entitled to at least equal treatment with the Soviets.

The Persian Impasse

IT was presumably not the intention of those who framed the Kellogg Pact to put a premium upon dishonesty, but that has proved to be its effect. In the old days the Persian Government could have been brought to reason by the time-honoured method of sending an expedition, but since we have renounced war as an instrument of policy that is apparently out of the question. All that remains is to take the question of the broken agreement either to The Hague Court or to the Council of the League of Nations, but that would clearly not be of much avail. If, after a long delay, we got a decision in our favour, there would be no means of enforcing it.

The pacifists never tire of telling us that these innumerable pacts make for more amicable international relations, whereas the facts show that they have resulted in making the world safe for crooks. The Persians would

never have acted as they have done had not our hands been tied, and so the present friction would have been avoided. Repudiation, default, and breach of contract on the part of the smaller States have become much more common of late years, and the sufferers have no power of redress. If this state of affairs is to continue it will severely restrict international trade, for confidence will be destroyed, and credit will not be given.

A Useful Book

THE present regime in Italy is by common consent the most interesting political experiment in Europe to-day, and any fresh information with regard to its institutions and outlook is therefore particularly welcome. The appearance of *L'Italia d'Oggi*, by Signor Mario Missiroli (Nicola Zanichelli, Lire 12) is extremely opportune. The book is written in an easy, unaffected style, and even those who are not masters of the Italian language will be able to read it with ease.

Signor Missiroli shows that Fascism grew out of the collapse of the order that had come into existence at the *Risorgimento*, and he describes how the governing class of pre-war days proved quite incapable of solving the problems of the immediate post-war period. It is his contention that, far from being a great democrat, Giolitti was the typical oligarch, and that he never attempted to make democracy work at any stage of his career. In fact, the author completely exposes the fallacy that the predecessors of Signor Mussolini were great Liberal statesmen. They were, on the contrary, merely the last representatives of a vested political interest against which the tide of public opinion was rapidly rising.

In the chapters devoted to an examination of the Fascist State the author explains very clearly the position of the Grand Council, which is by no means fully understood abroad. In effect, it serves two purposes: it secures the permanence of the Fascist Revolution, and it

acts as a connecting link between the old institutions of Italy and the new ones which have been created of recent years. Its members include not only the officials of the purely Fascist organizations, but also such dignitaries as the President of the Senate, and of the Royal Italian Academy, so that it is peculiarly well-fitted for its work of co-ordination. In fine, those who wish to understand the working of the corporate State could not do better than read this most excellent volume.

A Countryman's Diary

By A. G. Street (Author of "Farmer's Glory")

November 18th.

WENT up to town to-day. A silly thing to do, as my cold is no better, but needs must when publishers, editors or, if you like, the devil drives. And, like a fool, instead of coming home when my business was done, I stayed up for a dinner. Pride, silly pride, and I expect I shall have to pay for it. Never mind, I enjoyed the evening thoroughly.

November 19th.

Travelled home, and went straight to bed.

November 24th.

Downstairs again for the first time, but the powers that be will not let me outside. Reports from Frank, my pupil, and from the dairyman, are satisfactory. The romance may have disappeared from my farming, but we have got into a system, which does not permit of many serious mistakes. I see in the papers that this country is pressing for a cut in farm wages. Somehow I do not think that to be our best form of policy. I know that the present wages are out of all proportion to the prices of farm produce, but I would prefer to level upwards rather than downwards. To demand that our prices be raised by political means so that we should have the ability to pay our statutory liabilities seems to me to be a better card to play, and, moreover, one that has a sporting chance of winning just now. I'm perfectly certain that the lowering of wages would not help us very much, if at all, and I do not see much likelihood of it happening. It is a difficult question, no matter which way you look at it. The neatest solution of farm wages is, I think, provided in the story of the Canadian farmer, who employed one hired man, who lived with him in a shanty. The wages were entered in a book until the farmer owed the man the value of the

farm. Then the farm was deeded over to the man, and the farmer worked for him until he got it back. Provided they could sell enough produce each year to pay for their tobacco, boots and overalls, and a few groceries, they were on soundish ground.

November 25th.

The other day I was referred to over the microphone as an impractical person, who knew little or nothing about farming, being merely an idealist. I suppose I ought to feel annoyed, but I don't. When I look at my hands, and think of all the farm work they have done, both in this country and in Canada, I feel that I can dismiss the accusation of being impractical as absurd and untrue. Looking back, I can find only one farming job which I have not done with my own hands, and that is thatching; I have never thatched a rick. For one thing there has never been any need for me to do so, or I reckon I should have done it, and, to be quite honest, as I am not much good up a ladder, I have managed to avoid having to work on one whenever possible. As a set-off against this I have dug several wells by hand. Anyway, no one can be impractical on a farm for long. I was born on this one, I rented it on my own in 1919, and I'm still farming it in 1932. So much for my impractical shortcomings. To be called an idealist, I take as a compliment, as I was under the impression that I was a cold-blooded materialist. If my critic, when he calls me an idealist, means that I am not absolutely hide-bound in my ideas, I'm with him all the way. I do try to get my mind away from the fifties occasionally.

November 28th.

Allowed out for the first time this afternoon, so I went to collect the eggs with my daughter. It was all very interesting and quite good fun, but my child is not getting the excitements I got at her age on this farm at the same job. To-day all the hens are enclosed in small runs, and everything was clean, scientific and orderly,

but oh so dull by comparison with my childhood's memories. All we did to-day was to collect the eggs, but in those days the farm buildings were a glorious dirty muddle, and you never knew where you might find eggs. You didn't just collect them, you hunted them. One hen laid in the bull's manger, and you had to be very brave at ten years old to get that egg. Others laid in old milk churns, others amongst a pile of sheep cribs, and you had to be a human ferret to gather the spoil. And, if truth be told, some hens laid in a dark and dirty henhouse, where I gathered not only eggs, but fleas in addition. Still, they were glorious expeditions, and I regret that my child will never experience them. When we returned home she asked me whether I should be well enough to take her to see " Jack's the Boy " this week. Well, she cannot have my egg-hunting, and I could not go to the pictures years ago, so I suppose it evens out. Every age has its compensations.

November 29th.

What a lot there has been in the papers of late about livestock farming. Now that this branch of our farming has been allowed to collapse almost, everybody is pointing out that it comprises some 80 per cent. of our farming. Truth will out, but why will people refuse to see it until it is practically too late? Still, having got this far, perhaps it would be as well to point out something else with regard to livestock farming. A farmer, whether he owns or rents his farm, is for the time being the trustee of a portion of the nation's one indestructible asset, the land. If he lives mainly by grain selling, he will need to be a superman to leave his land in as good a condition as he found it, and in many cases he will leave it in a much worse condition. Worked out, dog-poor arable is no national bulwark in time of war. But if he farms mainly for livestock, he will leave his land better than he found it, and thereby provide a store of fertility, which would be a national bulwark, should the

need ever arise. To make it possible for a livestock farmer to get a living, and, at the same time, enhance the value of the nation's asset, must be our soundest policy.

December 2nd.

We started threshing this morning, but I feared that it was too bright to last. 11 a.m. saw us covering up as quickly as possible. My old dairyman calls our team a "Johnny Wobblin's Gang," and he's about right. We aren't used to threshing these days.

December 3rd.

Managed to finish the threshing to-day, and the tackle pulled out just before dinner. The wheat yielded nine sacks per acre, which is better than I expected, as it went down flat before cutting, and there was consequently a lot of waste. In spite of all I say about the Wheat Policy, I shall hope to get the Quota money on this wheat. It's all wrong; but I am not so impractical as to ignore it. I went to our local N.F.U. dinner to-night, and the applause for mention of wheat was conspicuous by its absence. One or two speakers tried it out, but soon switched on to livestock, which formed the major interest of the evening. A year ago the boot would have been on the other foot. The West of England, at any rate, is beginning to realize that in being so especially careful of the wheat eggs (5 per cent. of our farming eggs) while trying to make the agricultural omelette, the Government has succeeded in smashing nearly all the livestock eggs (80 per cent. of our farming eggs), and that they have not succeeded in making an omelette that either the grain farmer or the livestock farmer can digest.

December 6th.

Salisbury market. The improvement in fat stock prices was not maintained. Cattle were down £3 per head, sheep several shillings, and both fat and store pigs slumped badly. I wonder if this fall is merely temporary,

or whether it means that the increased Quota restrictions have failed. To my mind, unless the currency business is settled first, nothing else can be of any real value to Agriculture, or to any productive industry. With regard to Quotas as against tariffs, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that even if tariffs fail to raise prices or to keep out imported goods, there will be some money in the treasury. Quotas appear to have failed in both these things, and have put no money into our treasury either.

December 10*th.*

The Wiltshire County Executive of the N.F.U. passed the following resolution at last week's meeting :—

"That the Wiltshire Executive consider that any member of the N.F.U. who receives and accepts an invitation from the B.B.C. to give a broadcast talk upon agricultural subjects, should submit a copy of what he intends saying to the headquarters of the Union for consideration before doing so."

Nobody appreciates the value of the N.F.U. to the agricultural community more than I do, but when they attempt to stifle free speech, they are over-estimating their powers, and exposing their weaknesses. *Suppressio veri* will do, and recently has done, far more harm to British farming than even *suggestio falsi*, and I do not think that the N.F.U. can be considered guiltless of either. Granted, the views expressed by different farmers in the recent series of broadcast talks have differed, and differed greatly; but only from frank differences of opinion and free discussion can the townsman obtain the necessary information about modern farming, from which to make a decision as to the best national policy. For a good many years now the townsman has decided the fate of British farming, and in permitting these varying opinions to be broadcast the B.B.C. has done valuable service, not only to the farming industry, but also to the whole nation. What was right for farming during the fifties is not necessarily right to-day.

LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

Edited by HERBERT AGAR

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Literary Notes

By Herbert Agar

The Problem of Milton

"THE Early Lives of Milton," edited with an Introduction and Notes by Helen Darbishire (Constable), is a book of value both to those interested in Milton and to those interested in the history of his day. Here are the first six accounts of Milton's life—three written by men who knew him intimately, the others taking their chief facts from these three. In the first five of the Early Lives—all of them brief, and one (that by John Aubrey) a mere fifteen pages of notes for a Life—is all the main biographical material, except for what is in Milton's works. Yet anyone who reads these Lives for the first time will be struck by how little warrant they give for the conventional picture of Milton. The gloomy Puritan, the woman-hater, the man who cruelly mistreated his daughters, the crabbed moralist who took no joy in life—none of these Miltons is to be found in the Lives written by the men who knew him, any more than they are to be found in his own writings by one who does not approach these writings with the false picture of Milton already formed.

Anarch and Humanist

THE Milton of the Early Lives is a many-sided character with a zest for life and society in addition to his preoccupation with literature and religion. On reading these Lives it is possible to understand the Milton whose youthful Latin verses have a suggestion of Keats, whose sonnets to Lawrence and to Cyriak Skinner have an Horatian quality, and whose first sonnet, to a Nightingale, ends with the lines,

> Whether the Muse or Love call thee his mate,
> Both them I serve, and of their train am I.

The complications of Milton's nature, with its baroque Renaissance culture, its anarchic love of freedom, its Hebraic moral fervour, its Platonic idealism—these complications cannot be expressed in any such simple formula as Puritanism. Milton broke with the Presbyterians as completely as he had broken with the Bishops and the Royalists; he ended by breaking with the Christian tradition and making for himself a re-interpretation of the Bible so heterodox that his literary executor dared not publish it. Milton was no bourgeois Puritan, but an anarch left over from the high Renaissance, a humanist whose eclectic mind sought to absorb all knowledge and all wisdom and to build a new, individual synthesis. There is no satisfactory biography of Milton. Prejudice and the difficulty of the subject have combined to defeat every attempt to understand him. But when the true biography is written, it will throw light on the Seventeenth Century, the Renaissance, and the meaning of humanism.

Milton's employment as Latin Secretary to Cromwell's Government, and his consequent defence of the regicide, is responsible for the popular notion of him as primarily a Puritan. Historians who have not read his prose and whose acquaintance with his poetry does not extend to the Latin verses and the sonnets have contentedly

assumed that the author of "Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio" must be a Puritan. As such, Milton has been defended and condemned; but as such he can never be understood. Miss Darbishire, in her Introduction to the Early Lives, does a valuable service in pointing out the passages in these Lives which suggest the larger view of Milton and contradict the accepted one. She advances the theory that the anonymous contemporary Life was written by John Phillips, the poet's nephew, and she brings so much evidence to the support of this view that it may be accepted as almost beyond dispute. This has important implications for those who would understand Milton; for, as Miss Darbishire says, "this was the scapegrace nephew who got into trouble with the Council over a licentious book of songs, wrote a coarse *Satyr* upon the Presbyterians that was to enjoy a prolonged popularity with the Royalists, and so far as we can see had nothing at all of the Puritan in his composition. Yet his Life of Milton is, in the words of its first editor, who was ignorant of the author, 'the one Seventeenth Century biography of the poet in which he is treated with entire sympathy.' That Milton kept on friendly terms with him until the last year of his life is, I think, clear; liking must have been mutual, and it speaks as well for the uncle's genial tolerance as for the light-hearted nephew's discernment."

It is interesting, and useful, to realize that a grossly warped picture of a man so eminent as Milton can be accepted for over two hundred years, can be repeated again and again by hasty, or prejudiced, or merely unimaginative, historians—and this in spite of easily available evidence of the inaccuracy of the picture. We are engaged, in the present generation, in recreating the accepted view of Europe from the 12th to the 17th centuries; there is no briefer and better proof of the need for such re-creation than is afforded by these "Early Lives of Milton."

Lesson in Æsthetics, by G. B. S.

IN "The Adventures of a Black Girl in Her Search for God" (Constable), Mr. Shaw has provided an amusing illustration of the difference between poetry and prose. Had he been content to publish his Preface at the beginning of the book, this fact might have passed unnoticed; but he chose to put it at the end, and the startling contrast it makes with the rest of the book affords a lesson in æsthetics. The story itself, which makes up three fourths of the book, is an allegory with a Shavian moral which is perhaps painfully obvious, but with an imaginative quality which makes it possible to read some personal meaning into the story, to take it, in part at least, as an expression of the perplexity of the human soul, and the beauty and discouragement of the search for truth. But when, on page 59, the reader comes upon the misplaced Preface and begins to read a prosaic statement of what the book means, the effect is shocking. Prose is the expression of conceptual thought. The purer it is as prose, the less overtones it will have, the less connotations, the less it will encourage the reader's imagination to create. Mr. Shaw's prose can be very pure. "Hence the Bible," he writes, "scientifically obsolete in all other respects, remains interesting as a record of how the idea of God . . . develops from a childish idolatry . . . to a braver idealization of a benevolent sage, a just judge, an affectionate father, evolving finally into the incorporeal word that never becomes flesh, at which point modern science and philosophy takes up the problem with its *Vis Naturae*, its *Élan Vital*, its Life Force, its Evolutionary Appetite, its still more abstract Categorical Imperative, and what not." Is that all the story means—that faded nineteenth century credulity? If Mr. Shaw had not been so explicit, he might have left the reader feeling that this was a wise book.

Some New Novels

"STAMBOUL TRAIN," by Graham Greene (Heinemann), is the Book Society's choice for December, and is a fair example of what that Society quite properly tries to provide for its members. It is a good story, written with competence and a high finish—unimportant, ironic, readable. Mr. Greene's chief talent is his power to make his characters seem real.

A contrast to this bright, metallic book is "Jenny Wren," by E. H. Young (Cape)—a gentle chronicle, pleasantly written and mildly humorous, of the social troubles of a pair of girls who had a gentleman father (deceased) and a mother who was a farmer's daughter and who kept a lodging-house. Those who liked Miss Young's previous novels should enjoy this book; but the public which found "Grand Hotel" a masterpiece will be better pleased with "Stamboul Train."

"Gold of Toulouse," by John Clayton (Heinemann), is a sword-and-cloak romance of Provence in the time of the Albigensian Crusade. It is colourful, exciting, supercharged with plot. The emotions are overdone, and the reader who would enjoy himself must sometimes restrain his sense of the ridiculous.

G. B. S.

By Francis Toye.

THE inconsistency of George Bernard Shaw is so consistent that it has long ceased to excite surprise. Nevertheless, it does seem odd that this man, whose active life has been wholly spent first in Ireland then in England, whose habits, character and views were exclusively formed by people he met and books he read there, who is a European of Europeans, should have his authorized biography written by an American professor! Especially when one considers that nobody has said ruder things about Americans in the past than he!

Possibly the explanation is to be found in one of the most attractive traits in Shaw's character: his loyalty to old friends. This has been shown on many occasions, notably in the instance of his French translator, so that the accident that Mr Henderson has apparently known Shaw for twenty-five years and has written no less than seven books about him may possess much significance.

Mr. Henderson's biography ("Bernard Shaw: Playboy and Prophet." D. Appleton & Co. 30s. net) could hardly fail to be interesting in parts, if only owing to the nature of his subject, but as a whole it is a ponderous and prolix piece of work. 832 pages on Bernard Shaw, not counting the Index or the Introduction, or what Mr. Henderson calls "A Salute!" *Excusez du peu*, as a witty composer, whom Shaw used to admire, once said of a certain gargantuan composition. Doubtless Mr. Henderson would retort that since Bernard Shaw is about the greatest man in the world it would be impossible to write too much about him. Such a valuation, however, remains a matter of opinion. Since the biographer in his "Salute" apparently ranks Mark Twain and Anatole France with Cervantes, Rabelais, Heine, Molière and Voltaire, we are perhaps inclined not to be so impressed as we should be when he defines Bernard Shaw as "Voltaire perfected." Perfected in what? Surely not in literary ability? Or in originality? Or even in influence? Mr. Henderson is exceedingly naïve. Even if he is almost as alive to Shaw's most flagrant inconsistencies—the doctrine of Equality of Income under Socialism, for instance—as the average man in the street, his belief in the certainty of immortality for so much of his hero's output would be laughable were it not pathetic. The slightest study of history, particularly the history of æsthetics, is sufficient to show that immortality is about the last thing that can safely be prophesied about anybody.

The case of another of Mr. Henderson's heroes provides an apposite example. Twenty years ago it would have been accounted almost blasphemy to question the

certain survival of Anatole France. He was a master of French prose, possessed great wit, and pursued very much the same political and economic ideals as Shaw himself. Yet the neglect of Anatole France among the reading public to-day is a matter of common knowledge. It may well be the same with Bernard Shaw. All things said and done, Shaw has invented very little; his great merit has been to take the ideas of other more original thinkers and dress them up in all the finery of his brilliant wit. He has often done this supremely well, but unless the result is a work of art capable of standing on its own feet as it were, the chances of survival are extremely small. And Shaw himself, though he may (quite rightly) consider some of his productions excellent works of art, can be seen protesting all through this biography that his activities as a street orator, an economist, a Fabian and a publicist generally, are of more importance than his achievements as a mere writer of plays. Propaganda, that is Shaw's *métier*. Needless to say there is nothing incompatible in the union between propaganda and consummate artistry, whatever the art for art's sake doctrinaires may say. Nevertheless, they are as a rule an uneasy pair. Perhaps it will be Bernard Shaw's hell to be remembered only by the sparkle of "Arms and the Man," the delicious comedy of "John Bull's Other Island" (which Mr. Henderson most curiously dismisses as being of secondary importance owing to the fact that it does not possess a universal appeal), or the brilliance of "Man and Superman." Stranger things have happened. Who ever thinks of the political significance of Beaumarchais's "The Barber of Seville"? Are not Voltaire's "Contes" more alive than all his tragedies or political pamphlets?

If Shaw's influence on posterity remains, to say the least, doubtful, his influence on the generation that immediately succeeded his own is undeniable. Possibly the young people of to-day, bored by his garrulity, fail to appreciate what Shaw meant to those of us who were

young in the first decade of the century. We still lived in a period of comparative timidity when it was bad form to discuss religion or mention venereal diseases. Shaw, with his rapier-like wit and subtle, if unsound, dialectics, did help to clear the ground of much purely conventional rubbish. Everything seemed so stable in those days that we did not really resent, even when we appreciated, the fact that the theories of this man, if widely accepted, would turn the ground itself into a morass. Owners of motor-cars know that when the action of the weather has made their bolts and screws unmovable certain solvents can be used to remove the rust. Shaw seemed to us just such a solvent. We watched with glee his removal of the rust, failing, for the most part, to realize that the solvent was so corrosive that eventually the screws themselves would fail to turn or the bolts hold.

For this, abandoning metaphor, has been the result. Shaw has been one of the most disintegrating influences of our time. To take but two instances, he has been largely responsible for the loosening of family ties and for the monstrous delusion that it is impossible for a person of intelligence to be an orthodox Christian. One is tempted to wonder what Shaw himself, whatever may be his views on the family or religion in theory, really thinks of the results of his doctrines in practice. Does he admire the laxity, the lack of discipline or purpose among the young people in our big cities? Is he not amused by the spectacle of the patrons of our fashionable restaurants and night clubs thanking God that they are too intelligent to believe in God? In view of the well-known probity, dignity and austerity of his private life it would seem that only one answer is possible. Doubtless he would lay the blame elsewhere; on Capitalism or the Censor of Plays or the Church of England; but much of the responsibility remains his nevertheless. You cannot sweep away traditional standards of conduct and belief and then expect the sanctions deriving from them to be maintained, as was indeed foreseen with much

prescience by the Atheist who said that when the world ceased to believe in God the world would have a very bad quarter of an hour.

'Twas Brilig

By Eleanor Carroll Chilton.

FORM IN MODERN POETRY. By HERBERT READ. (Sheed and Ward. 2s. 6d.)
SWEENEY AGONISTES. By T. S. ELIOT. (Faber and Faber. 2s. 6d.)
TWO TALES OF SHEM AND SHAUN. By JAMES JOYCE. (Faber and Faber. 2s. 6d.)

ON page eighteen Mr. Read writes: ". . . when I have said further that all poetry . . . is the product of the personality, and therefore inhibited in a character, I have stated the main theme of my essay." But the bulk of this very confused essay deals with organic form, and Mr. Read fails to establish any new relation between personality and form; whereas the only controversial element in his discussion—that of character being inimical to poetry—he abandons after a brief and inglorious struggle.

Mr. Read subscribes to the Freudian concept that personality is the coherent organization of all one's mental processes, and that character is a mechanical check on the free play of those processes—an automatic censorship which prevents the emergence from the unconscious of incongruous impulses. It looks, therefore, as though the one thing an artist must avoid is the fixity of character.

The fallacy here is twofold. In the first place character is not involved, in any immediate sense, in the creative process itself; only in such practical considerations as what to publish and what to destroy. Furthermore, in the Freudian Unconscious (from which Mr. Read will have poetry derive) experiences and emotions are neither positive or negative. They are, therefore, a-moral, and are all equally *free*—meaning *unpredictably liable*—to come to consciousness, shaped with infinite variation to the moral set of their possessor's character.

The second, more thumping fallacy in the conclusion Mr. Read draws from these psychological premises, which are rigidly mechanistic, lies in the word *avoid*. If character is the involuntary repression of personality, it is obviously absurd to advise anyone to avoid it. The Unconsciously-determined individual

cannot *avoid* anything. His personality and his character happen to him. Mr. Read has, by this laborious method, said only that the poet must happen to be a poet, and surely no critic needs the terminology of science to help him to this conclusion.

The essential irrelevancy of this theory of the poetic personality is doubtless responsible for the inadequacy of the subsequent—but not consequent—discussion of organic form. The theory that every poem has its own inherent form and is a disciplined ordering of some phase of the poet's personality is widely accepted to-day, and persuasively elaborated in the most complete contemporary Aesthetic, that of Signor Croce. Mr. Read fails—through side-stepping the problem of consciousness—to illuminate the theory from the poet's point of view, and the scope of his essay does not include the critical difficulties which arise from it. The critic cannot rest with the knowledge that a poem has satisfied its author. He must consider whether or not, and on what grounds, the poem satisfies him. In other words, as a basis for criticism, the statement that a poem has organic form and that the form is determined by the poet's personality, is only a statement of the obvious unless the critic considers, first, the relation of *form* to *technique*, and, second, the problem of communication.

For example, the most bewildered and bored reader of " Two Tales of Shem and Shaun " will grant that Mr. Joyce's prose-poem has its own form, and will even rejoice in the knowledge that it is unique. But he will, in most cases, discover in that form only an unmeaning string of garbled words. He has been told that these words are supposed to convey to him the impression of a dream-state, and that Mr. Joyce has spared himself no pains to create consciously a semi-conscious state of mind, but this, in itself, is only an assurance that a man called James Joyce is, like Hamlet, not mad, but only pretending to be. This may be good news, but it will not explain to the reader why he fails to get from the result any of the strong emotional illusion of reality he feels in his own dreams; nor why, failing that, there should be any significance in even the most persuasive rendering of an absence of consciousness. He will also reflect that he would have considered the " Two Tales " a type-setter's joke, had not friends of the author known and published in advance the news that it is instead a fragment from a most Important work of art.

As a matter of fact, " Two Tales of Shem and Shaun," though tedious for adults, would be a good Christmas book for children. It is gibberish, but very amusing, sing-songy gibberish—the sort

of thing children like to talk to themselves, full of puns and run-together words.

"Sweeney Agonistes" is embarrassingly below the level of Mr. Eliot's best poetry. Many of his admirers would have been grateful if he had given them instead what they still lack—a humane critique of modern poetry.

Chamberlain

THE LIFE OF JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN, Vol. I, 1836–1885. By J. L. GARVIN. (Macmillan. 21s.)

A CERTAIN amount of nonsense has been talked by sundry members of the New-biography School in depreciation of the old-fashioned "Life and Letters" in two or more stout volumes. Yet the old fashion is surviving lustily, and it is very right that it should do so. New-biography certainly impresses upon us the personality of the biographer, and it does not always do very much else. The older fashion not only introduces the hero, but carries us right out of ourselves into the midst of the times and activities among which he lived and moved. It is true these books call for great skill in their author-compilers, and in Victorian times too often this skill was lacking. But Morley's "Gladstone" and Mr. Churchill's "Randolph Churchill" set a new and very high standard, which the volume before us worthily maintains. Mr. Garvin has not allowed himself to be hurried over his task, and he has done it extremely well. Those who feared that the writer of the central page of "The Observer" might not curb sufficiently the exuberances of his journalistic style have had their fears proved groundless. Three more volumes are to follow in the course of a year or so; the complete work will be about the longest of our political biographies except the "Life of Disraeli."

The subject-matter of this volume falls sharply into two categories. There are those chapters which tell a story almost entirely new to the general reader, and those which tell over again, from a new angle, a very oft-told tale.

Under the first head we must place the whole of Chamberlain's earlier life up to the moment when he entered the Cabinet, and also the departmental side of his activities as President of the Board of Trade. No chapter in the book is better than the first, on the record of Chamberlain's Nonconformist ancestors, from Richard Serjeant, who was one of the two thousand clergy expelled from the Church of England after the Restoration. The

first important event in the life of "young Mr. Joseph" was Prince Albert's Great Exhibition which (while introducing the Duke of Wellington to the new American six-shooter) introduced Uncle Nettlefold to a new American method of making screws. So young Joseph went to make screws in Birmingham, and built up a first-class business—his first achievement. He then entered municipal politics, became Mayor, and attacked the problems of gas, water, and slums as they had never been attacked before—his second and perhaps most admirable achievement. Caught up in wider politics by reason of his interest in the sectarian squabble over education, he proceeded to organize for his reluctant party an electioneering machine, or Caucus, on lines now recognized as inevitable—his third achievement. Promoted to the Board of Trade he created a really efficient department in Whitehall, reformed bankruptcy law, patent law, etc.—his fourth achievement. Whatever one may think of Chamberlain as a statesman he was beyond doubt an absolutely first-class administrator.

The other and larger half of the book is occupied with telling over again from Chamberlain's angle the very familiar story of Mr. Gladstone's second government. Here they are again, our old friends—Majuba, Kilmainham, Phœnix Park, Tel-el-Kebir, Khartoum, Penjdeh; the G.O.M., Hartington, Parnell, Randolph, Dilke, and the Unauthorized Programme. Mr. Garvin throws many new lights on old obscurities. This political Chamberlain of the early 'eighties is constantly reminding us of what Mr. Lloyd George was a quarter of a century later; and he got on about as well with Gladstone as Mr. Lloyd George with Asquith. If 1886 had given us the Great War instead of the Home Rule Bill, Gladstone would have led a united nation into it, and Chamberlain, with Conservative support, would have unseated him half way through.

D. C. SOMERVELL.

Wagner and Nietzsche

RICHARD WAGNER. By GUY DE PORTALÈS: Translated from the French by J. LEWIS MAY. (Jonathan Cape. 15s. net.)
SON OF THE MORNING. By EDWARD J. O'BRIEN. (Jonathan Cape. 10s. 6d. net

THESE two biographies illustrate the importance of not writing about a man in his own idiom. M. Guy de Portalès writes flamboyantly about the flamboyant Wagner, Mr. O'Brien intensely

about the intense Nietzsche. What either of them really thinks about his subject is, in consequence, hard to divine. But though they share this fundamental defect, the two books are not to be compared otherwise. Mr. O'Brien has obviously thought about Nietzsche, even if he has not found the best form for his thoughts; but M. de Portalès has probably never thought about Wagner at all. There can therefore be no question which of the two books will command the bigger sale.

M. de Portalès is already a best-seller in France, and he certainly loses nothing in the rich English dress Mr. Lewis May has swathed him in. "If I succeed," he writes, in his preface, "in reawakening in the hearts of those who may read these pages some woodland melody, or distant trumpet-call, or tragic dissonance, such as even our own humble longings are adorned withal, I shall not deem my task in vain."

This passage strikes a note which M. de Portalès maintains, with a few lapses, throughout the four hundred pages of his book. When, for example, he has to tell us that Minna Wagner, exasperated by her husband's growing passion for Mathilde Wesendonck, left Zürich for a few weeks, he writes: "Minna, ailing and moody, grew more and more out of touch with her husband's eager, questing spirit. She went to Germany for a change, and tried various cures for her health; while every evening Richard, scarce knowing whither his feet were wandering, bent his steps towards the Hotel Baur au Lac." When he wishes to say that Mathilde's husband and Wagner's wife were making things so uncomfortable for Mathilde and Wagner respectively, that Wagner felt it advisable to see less of Mathilde for the time being, he writes: "It was evident that the concrete and practical element in their liaison would now, for a long time to come, be out of the question. Otto would have to be calmed, and so would Minna. That peace which he desired so ardently for himself would have to be restored to those into whose lives he had brought such deep anxiety."

These two quotations are perfect examples of sentimental insincerity. M. de Portalès knows that Richard was well aware whither his feet were wandering when he bent his steps towards the hotel at which Mathilde was staying. He also knows that Richard did not relax his courtship of Mathilde from any disinterested desire to lessen the deep anxiety of Otto and Minna. But to suppress the consciousness of those elements in a situation which interfere with emotional self-indulgence is instinctive with

all sentimentalists; and as nine-tenths of the public read only to indulge their emotions, one must be a sentimentalist, either by design or temperament, to be widely successful.

M. de Portalès has, however, a few lapses, which betray the cynic who is the skeleton in every sentimentalist's cupboard. "Her pride," he writes of Minna, on one occasion, "was saved, and, with a woman, that means her honour."

Mr. O'Brien's portrait of Nietzsche is sincere, but too turbid. Whether by contact with Nietzsche, or by a natural tendency, he shares Nietzsche's habit of seeing an exaggerated significance in every incident. In Nietzsche this tendency was due to his uncertain sense of reality; he really never knew what was important and what was trivial in the outside world. An extraordinary genius, filled with passionate emotions, he was shut off from normal experience by some mysterious cause which Mr. O'Brien does not succeed in explaining, and which is perhaps beyond intellectual analysis. To make up for the poverty of his experience, he was constantly dramatizing his relations with other persons. Mr. O'Brien gives many instances of this obsession; his account of Nietzsche's life is excellent, and he gives also, perhaps more vividly than any previous biographer, Nietzsche's perpetual oscillation between horror and ecstasy. But he is so under the spell of Nietzsche's dramatizing faculty that he does not perceive how imaginary was the material with which it worked. The main theme of his book is Nietzsche's love for Cosima Wagner, and he not only assumes that Nietzsche's feelings for Cosima were those of love, as love is ordinarily understood, but he deduces from various dark sayings of Nietzsche's that this love was returned by Cosima. "Many natures," Nietzsche writes, "have no alternative but to choose between being either public sinners or secret bearers of sorrow." Mr. O'Brien's comment is: "Did Nietzsche really have the choice of living in sin with Cosima or living alone in sorrowful renunciation?" Elsewhere Nietzsche invents a little parable, which he is careful to explain is only a parable: "this probable story never happens" he concludes. But because it contains a mutual confession of love between a man and a woman, Mr. O'Brien says: "It would seem . . . that Cosima declared her love, and that Nietzsche guarded her secret."

Mr. O'Brien needs more experience of life, for his sincerity to work on; M. Guy de Portalès needs more sincerity, to cope adequately with his experience of life. HUGH KINGSMILL.

Books Recommended

The following is a selected list of books just published or to be published shortly :—

HISTORY AND POLITICS.

CIVILIZATION OF THE U.S. OF AMERICA. J. M. BONN. (Allen & Unwin. 10s. 6d.)
HISTORY OF EUROPE : 1378–1494. W. T. WAUGH. (Methuen. 16s.)
THE RIVER WAR. RT. HON. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL, C.H., M.P. (Eyre and Spottiswoode. 7s. 6d.)
MONARCHY OR MONEY POWER? R. MCNAIR WILSON. (Eyre and Spottiswoode. 6s.)
METTERNICH. ALGERNON CECIL. (Eyre and Spottiswoode. 9s.)
FAITH AND SOCIETY. MAURICE B. RECKITT. (Longmans. 15s.)
LOW'S RUSSIAN SKETCH BOOK, with text by KINGSLEY MARTIN. (Gollancz. 8s. 6d.)

BIOGRAPHY.

EDMUND RUFFIN, SOUTHERNER. A. CRAVEN. (Appleton. 15s.)
JAMES WOLFE, MAN AND SOLDIER. W. T. WAUGH. (Macmillan. 18s.)

CRITICISM.

CHARACTERISTICS OF FRENCH ART. ROGER FRY. (Chatto & Windus. 12s. 6d.)
THE COMMON READER : Second Series. VIRGINIA WOOLF. (Hogarth Press. 10s. 6d.)

VERSE.

AN HEROIC POEM IN PRAISE OF WINE. HILAIRE BELLOC. (Davies. 21s.)
YOUNGER POETS OF TO-DAY. Ed. by J. C. SQUIRE. (Secker. 6s.)
COLLECTED POEMS OF JOHN MASEFIELD. (Heinemann. 10s. 6d.)
HALFWAY HOUSE. EDMUND BLUNDEN. (Cobden Sanderson. 6s.)
COLLECTED POEMS. Vol. III. T. STURGE MOORE. (Macmillan. 12s. 6d.)
SELECTIONS FROM DRYDEN (Poetry and Prose). Ed. by JOHN EARNSHAW. (Methuen. 3s. 6.)

NOVELS.

THE SLEEPWALKERS. HERMANN BROCH. Translated by WILLA and EDWIN MUIR. (Secker. 10s.)
ANN VICKERS. SINCLAIR LEWIS. (Cape. 7s. 6d.). (Jan. 25th).
THE UNENDING CRUSADE. R. EMMET SHERWOOD. (Heinemann. 8s. 6d.)
ORIENT AIR EXPRESS. PAUL MORAND. (Cassell. 6s.)
JOSEPHUS. LION FEUCHTWANGER. (Secker. 7s. 6d.)

THRILLERS.

DEATH OF A STAR. G. D. H. & M. COLE. (Collins. 7s. 6d.)
THE TRAGEDY OF Y. BARNABY ROSS. (Cassell. 7s. 6d.)
THE BROKEN MEN. VAL GIELGUD. (Constable. 7s. 6d.)
OBELISTS AT SEA. C. DALY KING. (Heritage. 7s. 6d.)

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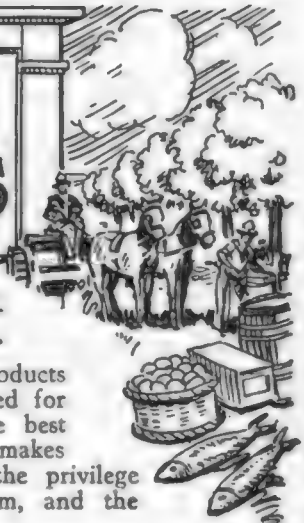

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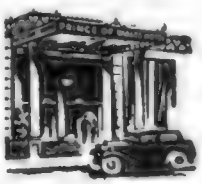

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◆ ◆ ◆ ◆

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Club Gossip

By Quid Nunc

I AM an optimist. I do not believe that the British Empire is a conglomeration of tax-ridden peoples living in a slough of despair and with no bright vista in the immediate future. There are some mighty bright spots in the Empire already if we have the *savoir-faire* to look for them and rid ourselves of the all too-prevailing spirit of pessimism. I can name five such places off the reel and there are others which to say the least are comparatively prosperous at the present moment.

* * *

LOOK at the Province of Quebec, the old bulwark of Canada, still four-square against many of the modern forces of American boost and get-rich-quick schemes. Its people are very largely of the old French stock, and they are very industrious, labouring diligently on some of the richest agricultural, mineral and timber bearing land in the world, so much so that the Province has a favourable trade balance and very low taxation.

* * *

THE French Canadians have no compunction in bringing up big families. It seems marvellous how they grow up and are eventually provided for, but their rough rearing makes them fit for the big projects of advancing the frontiers of Quebec in the vast areas of the Province awaiting cultivation and habitation.

* * *

THEN not far off the West Indies are thriving through the development of the banana, and now oranges are to be grown in greater numbers for Empire trade purposes, another golden lined fruit to reap a golden harvest.

* * *

WEST INDIANS play the game of cricket as it should be played. Every little native lad is cricket mad. He knows all the players by name, at home, in England and Australia, and I doubt if there are any keener little products of optimism in the Empire.

* * *

FEW realize how prosperous and happy are the islanders of the far distant Falkland Isles. Their inhabitants are making money from the whale fisheries, and many a man in the City would envy some of the bank balances in London that belong to these Isles and Islanders. They have grit, as witness their determination to send by a sailing ship whenever possible teams to Bisley to join " the gathering of the clans " of Empire on the famous heath.

* * *

THEN across the seas to Palestine. Under British rule Palestine is doing very well. There is actually no unemployment there and development schemes

promise well for the future. For across Palestine will come the southernmost pipe line from the Mosul oil field to Haifa, an oil supply to us of vital strategic interest. Egypt is also sensing the importance of Palestine. A branch railway line is projected from Port Fuad, a suburb of Port Said, to join the Cairo-Palestine railway at Romani and thus attract trade from Palestine. And I hear the Egyptian Government intends to improve the existing road track across the desert of the Sinai Peninsula *via* Hassana to Beersheba and Jerusalem, so as to be capable of taking both heavy and fast motor traffic. There is a big future for the Near East.

* * *

AND for the fifth example of prosperity there is the great State of Hyderabad in India, which belies the too-often repeated statement that the whole of India is in an economic turmoil. On the contrary that great State, as large as the British Isles, occupying the centre of the Indian continent, with a population half as big again as that of Canada, has some very impressive statistics, which would indeed gladden us, if they could be said of this country.

* * *

IN the first place there is no Income Tax, and, in the second, the State Exchequer makes profits every year, for the railways and electrical installations under State enterprise both make money; industries and education are encouraged in every way and the Government exercises over its contented people a really fine system of beneficial Government supervision. A sixth of the area is under cotton and I have no doubt the time is coming when British capitalists will establish in Hyderabad State a cotton-goods manufacturing industry. India cannot be expected always to purchase from Lancashire articles for which she provides the raw material. Then there is, happily, complete religious toleration and no customs barriers between her and the rest of the Continent.

* * *

(*Continued overleaf.*)

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Club Gossip—*continued.*

THE vile samples of weather and the scourge of influenza makes many feel how pleasant it would be to join, during this month, the Royal Mail Cruise either to Las Palmas, Teneriffe and as far south as Sierra Leone, returning *via* Gambia and Madeira and Lisbon, or early next month, when I expect the back-end of winter will be more biting than the beginning, the cruise will be to Gibraltar, Barcelona, the Balearic Isles, Naples, Messinà, Syracuse, Malta, Tripoli and Algiers.

* * *

AT the very moderate charge made for these cruises it is the best possible way of getting rid effectually of chronic colds, catarrh and other ailments of our winter climate in the health-giving sun rays of the Sunny South. Better than all the medicine in the world and the first to admit this would be the doctors. "You will never be right" was the verdict of my own doctor "till you get away from our damp, chill winter air and ever-varying temperatures." He is right, and I could add "the soot and germ-laden atmosphere of London" Oh! for Teneriffe for just twenty-four hours.

* * *

Correspondence

The Bubble of Relativity

To the Editor of THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

SIR,—I feel I must protest against some of the sweeping statements made in the article "The Bubble of Relativity," which appeared in the December number of THE ENGLISH REVIEW.

Relativity is as old as the hills: from the day that one man saw the golden shield whilst the other man saw the silver. No one who has plotted the graph of the march of Jupiter through the heavens—as viewed from one place on the earth—can have any doubts as to the movement of that planet round the sun, although it appears as a most complex curve to those who see it from the earth. The jeers at Rieman (and his associated school of mathematicians, although not lectured upon at our English universities) cannot be ignored. Poor old Einstein seems to get the full blast of your contributor's invective, although he is not answerable for the De Lorentz contraction; nor a lot more that his ardent followers have assigned to his theory. The poor mathematician-like Newton, Laplace and a number of other famous searchers after Truth, has only tried to establish a uniformity between the various accepted "Laws of Nature" (undoubtedly with a view to establish a common law pervading the Universe), and, in consequence, is made the butt of a lot of writers like your contributor.

Newton arrayed his facts and tried to establish a general law which fitted in with all circumstances of the case. Maxwell tried to establish a general law with regard to electricity and magnetism. Einstein only tried to correlate the two views of the same standpoint. We are all groping in the dark, amongst the

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Correspondence—*continued.*

deep problems of Creation. For a man like your contributor to deliver an attack on Einstein, in the way he has done, shows a non-knowledge of the breadth of the situation.

You may not believe it, but I do not share the belief in the general theory of Relativity that is accepted by men like Eddington and Jeans and others. I prefer to wait, like Pickering and many others, until the theory is more fully proven. At the same time I would like to record my unqualified disapproval of such sweeping denunciations of the Einstein theory as appear in your December number.

Yours faithfully,
A. H. WALLIS.

Civil Service Club, Capetown.

Dr. Arthur Lynch writes :—

The letter of the South African correspondent on my article, "The Bubble of Relativity," is interesting to me as verifying a prediction which appears in my book, "The Case Against Einstein." I said that I was without hope of carrying those who paid no attention to close consecutive reasoning, but, like my South African critic, and some of the luminaries of the great universities, relied solely on Authority.

The writer attacks me for not accepting the teachings of Riemann, who "is not lectured upon at our English universities." Here I express my regret, for I have a very high respect for Riemann, and I have studied his works with diligence and deep attention. I think indeed that I am better acquainted with Riemann than my critic seems to be, for in his careless handling of facts he has mis-spelt his name. The rest of the letter is on the same plane. Riemann is the great prophet of the Relativitists, for Einstein has fastened eagerly upon the few faulty passages in his writings and held them to be sacred. The simple truth is that Riemann is, as far as authority goes, the most devastating witness against the Relativity doctrine.

With regard to Einstein not being "answerable for the De Lorentz contraction," I regret that also, for though Einstein, knowing the Dutch nationality of Lorentz, does not give him the French particle "de," he nevertheless bases on a formula of Lorentz the recondite arguments which have lead him to his absurd conclusions.

I think it needless to pursue the objections contained in this letter, but the suggestion of the universal invariant formula raises questions which I would like to discuss at length. Leibnitz nursed that idea all his life only to find it illusory. Herbert Spencer in a more restricted scope tried to discover such a law for Evolution, but in my Psychology I have indicated in what regard his supposed law is faulty.

There is, however, a field, and one which is the matrix of all science, where the most basic principles may be formulated. I have, again, given the complete exposition in my Psychology, for the main thing there is the ascertainment of the Fundamental Processes of the Mind, and the indication of the unlimited scope of the applications of the principle.

Finally, no one denies that relativity is found everywhere, but Einstein gives a special and technical meaning to Relativity, and this I have traced out from its "germinal idea" to its wondrous conclusions. I cannot find that any one of the disciples of Einstein in this country has even accomplished that feat.